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देवैः कृतं पराशक्ति-स्तवनम्

(देवीभागवतम् ४.१९.१०-२०)

देवा ऊचुः ॥

^१ऊर्णनाभाद् यथा तन्तुर्विस्फुलिङ्गा^२ विभावसोः ।
 तथा जगद् यदेतस्या निर्गतं तां नता वयम् ॥१
 यन्मायाशक्तिसंकलृप्तं जगत् सर्वं चराचरम् ।
 तां चितं भुवनाधीशां स्मरामः करुणार्णवाम् ॥२
^३यदज्ञानाद् भवोत्पत्तिर्यज्ज्ञानाद् भवनाशनम् ।
 संविद्रूपां च तां देवीं स्मरामः सा प्रचोदयात् ॥३
^४महालक्ष्म्यै च विद्महे सर्वशक्त्यै च धीमहि ।
 तन्नो देवी प्रचोदयात् ॥४
 मातर्नताः स्म भुवनार्तिहरे प्रसीद
 शन्नो विधेहि कुरु कार्यमिदं दयार्द्रैः ।
 भारं हरस्व विनिहत्य सुरारिवर्गं
 मह्या महेश्वरि सतां कुरु शो भवानि ॥५
 यद्यम्बुजाक्षि दयसे न सुरान् कदाचित्
 किं ते क्षमा रणमुखेऽसिशरैः प्रहर्तुम् ।

1. cf. *Mundakopaniṣad* 1.1.7 :—
 यथोर्णनाभिः सुजते गृह्णते च
 यथा पृथिव्यामोषधयः संभवन्ति ।
 यथा सतः पुरुषात् केशलोमानि
 तथाऽक्षरात् संभवतीह विश्वम् ॥
 (“यथैते दृष्टान्तास्तथा विलक्षणं सलक्षणं च निमित्तान्तरानपेक्षाद्.....
 अक्षरात् संभवति इह संसारमण्डले विश्वं समस्तं जगत् ॥” शा० भा०)
2. cf. *ibid.* 2.1.1. :—
 यथा सुदीप्तात् पावकाद् विस्फुलिङ्गाः
 सहस्रशः प्रभवन्ते सरूपाः ।
 तथाऽक्षराद् विविधा सोम्य भावाः
 प्रजायन्ते तत्र चैवापि यन्ति ॥
3. यथा रज्ज्वज्ञानाद् सर्पोत्पत्तिर्यथा च रज्जुज्ञानात् सर्पनाशः । तद्वत्
 cf. *Tilaka Comm. of Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha*.
4. cf. *Devī-Atharvaśrīṣa-Up* 7. :—
 महालक्ष्मीं च विद्महे सर्वसिद्धिं च धीमहि ।
 तन्नो देवी प्रचोदयात् ॥

५ एतत् त्वयैव गदितं ननु यक्षरूपं
 धृत्वा तृणं दह हुताश पदाभिलाषैः ॥६
 कंसः कुजोऽथ यवनेन्द्रसुतश्च केशी
 वार्हद्रथो वक्रवकीखरशात्वमुखाः ।
 येऽन्ये तथा नृपतयो भुवि सन्ति तांस्त्वं
 हत्वा हरस्व जगतो भरमाशु मातः ॥७
 ये विष्णुना न निहताः किल शंकरेण
 ये वा निगृह्य जलजाक्षि पुरंदरेण ।
 ते ते मुखं सुखकरं सुसमीक्षमाणाः
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 शक्तिं विना हरिहरप्रमुखाः सुराश्च
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 धर्तुं धरां च रजनीशकलावतंसे ॥९

इन्द्र उवाच ॥

वाचा विना विधिरलं भवतीह विश्वं
 कर्तुं हरिः किमु रमारहितोऽथ पातुम् ।
 संहर्तुमीश उमयोज्झित ईश्वरः किं
 ते ताभिरेव सहिताः प्रभवः प्रजेशाः ॥१०

विष्णुस्वाच ॥

कर्तुं प्रभुर्न द्रुहिणो न कदाचनाहं
 नाप्यीश्वरस्तत्र कलारहितस्त्रिलोचयाः ।
 कर्तुं प्रभुत्वमनघेऽत्र तथा विहर्तुं
 त्वं वै समस्तविभवेश्वरि भासि नूनम् ॥११

5. cf. Dbh. XII. 8.12-85, where the story (*ākhyāyikā*) of Haimavatī Umā and the Yakṣa related in the *Kenopaniṣad* (khaṇḍa 3) is given in a modified *śākta* version. In the *Kenopaniṣad* the Yakṣa is independent and Supreme, while in the Dbh. Umā-Haimavatī herself has appeared in the forms of the Yakṣa :—

पराशक्तिप्रभावं ते (देवाः) न ज्ञात्वा मोहमागताः ।

तेषामनुग्रहं कर्तुं तदैव जगदम्बिका ॥ 18

प्रादुरासीत् कृपापूर्णा यक्षरूपेण भूमिप । 19 ab.

.....

तदा यक्षं परं तेजस्तदग्रे निदधौ तृणम् ।

दहैनं यदि ते शक्तिर्विश्वस्य दहनेऽस्ति हि ॥

तदा सर्वत्रलेनैवाकरोद् यत्नं हुताशनः ।

न शशाक तृणं दध्नुं लज्जितोऽगात् सुरान् प्रति ॥ 29-30

NOTE ON THE EULOGY OF GODDESS PARĀ-ŚAKTI

Introductory

The occasion for this *stūti* of Parā-śakti is as follows :—At the end of the Dvāpara Age and before the setting in of the Kali Age goddess Prithivī, (the presiding deity of the Earth) oppressed by the burden of the wicked kings such as Kāṁsa, Śiśupāla and Jarāsandha and fearing that the burden would become heavier in the approaching Kali Age on account of the rule of the earth by the more wicked and sinful rulers, approached Indra for help; but he advised her to go to Brahmā and told her that he (Indra) would also be following her. The goddess approached Brahmā and related to him her woes—“Oh, Lord of the world, Kali is approaching, and in that Age the people would be doing sinful acts, and the rulers will also become characterless, quarrelling among themselves, and all delighting in thievery, and behaving like Rākṣasa-s. I am oppressed, Oh Lord, with the burden of their armies too” (*Dbh.* IV. 18 19ff). Brahmā took her and the gods to Viṣṇu, apprised him of the burden of the Earth and requested him to relieve her burden. Viṣṇu, there-upon, told Brahmā that neither he (Viṣṇu) nor Brahmā, nor Śiva, nor Indra, Agni, Yama, Sūrya and Varuṇa, nor any other god is independent; for, the whole universe from Brahmā to a clump of grass, is under the control of Goddess Yoga-māyā and every one is deluded under the influence of her *māyā* (supernatural creative power) and, therefore, every one is ignorant of the eternal ultimate Reality. Then Brahmā and other gods meditated on Goddess Yoga-māyā, the highest (*paramā*) and the first and foremost (*ādya*) Śakti. She then, instantly appeared before them in a visible form and the gods including Brahmā and Indra eulogised Her in the form of the *stūti* as given here.

The Stuti

The gods said :—

“Just as cobweb comes out of a spider and sparks come out of the fire, in the same way from Whom the whole universe has emerged, we bow to Her.—(1). By the power of Whose *māyā* the whole universe consisting of animate and inanimate beings, has been produced, we think of that Goddess Who is of the nature of

pure consciousness (*cit*) and Who is the mistress of the world and the ocean of compassion.—(2). The world (consisting of the series of births and deaths) has its origin in the ignorance about Her, and the world disappears by the true knowledge about Her (thus affording salvation). We think of that Goddess who is of the nature of pure thought. May She inspire us !—(3). We experience the presence of Goddess Mahālakṣmī and we meditate on Her who is the Śakti of all. May She, therefore, inspire us !—(4) Mother ! we bow to you, O Destroyer of the afflictions of all the worlds ! be kind to us, grant us happiness and prosperity, undertake this work (for us), O compassionate One. By killing the enemies of gods relieve the burden of the Earth, O great Goddess. Bestow happiness and prosperity on good persons, O Goddess Bhavānī.—(5). If you, O lotus-eyed One, had not ever been kind to gods, could they be able to strike with swords and arrows in the battles. This very thing has been declared by you when you assumed the form of the Yakṣa (the Great Being to be revered) and spoke the words “O Agni, burn this blade of grass”.—(6). By killing Kaṁsa, Naraka. Kāla-yavana, Keśin, Bārhadratha, the demon Baka, the female demon Pūtanā (Bakī), the demon Khara or Dhenuka, the King of the Śālvas, and other Kings who are in the world, relieve, O Mother, the burden of the world immediately.—(7). Those who were not killed by Viṣṇu, nor by Śaṁkara, nor by Indra, O lotus-eyed One, were easily killed by you in the battle with arrows, while they were beholding your pleasing face.—(8). Without your power or energy (*śakti*), O Goddess among the gods, Hari, Hara etc., and other gods are not able to move and act. O crescent-ornamented One, could Ananta (Śeṣa, the great King of the nāgas) be able to uphold the earth without the *śakti* Dharaṇā.—(9).

Indra said :—

Without Vāk (the Śakti named Sarasvatī) could Brahmā be able to create the universe, and without Ramā (Lakṣmī) could Hari be able to preserve and protect the world, or without Umā (Pārvatī) could Īśa (Hara or Rudra) be able to destroy it. These lords of creatures are competent (to create, preserve and destroy) only when they are supported by those *Śakti*-s.—(10).

Viṣṇu said :—

O sinless One, neither Brahmā, nor I, nor Īśvara is able, without your *Śakti*, to create, to govern and to destroy the three

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worlds (respectively). O Mistress of all the prosperity, thou alone verily shine.—(11).’’

Mother Goddess

Goddess, according to the Śakti-cult, is the ultimate Reality. But the ultimate Reality is absolute, beyond all limitations of time, space, quality etc., and hence indescribable. It, therefore, transcends sex and cannot be conceived as male or female. The human mind, however, has generally conceived it in terms of sex and as endowed with divine qualities in order to make it adorable. The higher the stage of intellectual, moral and spiritual development or evolution of a man or a society the higher and nobler are the attributes which are assigned to the ultimate Reality. According to the Hindu scriptures the nature of the ultimate Reality is ‘pure Consciousness’ (*cit* or *sainvid*). It is worshipped by many Hindus, specially the Śāktas, as the ‘MOTHER’ Who creates, supports, nourishes and governs the universe.

The Hindu pantheon, consisting of both male and female deities, has been regarded as the divine manifestation of the supreme Deity or the Mother. The unmanifested Mother as the absolute and ultimate Reality is single, without a second; and in that stage, therefore, there can be no *itihāsa* or *ākhyāna* of the Mother. But when She, the Mother Goddess, manifests herself into a number of female deities or goddesses, these goddesses are also worshipped as ‘mothers’ (*mātaraḥ* or *mātṛkā-s*) and these ‘mothers’ have *itihāsa-s* and *ākhyāna-s* about themselves, as says the *Varāha-purāṇa* (99.6) :—

मूर्त्तिपक्षे चेतिहासममूर्त्ते चैकवद्बुद्धि ।
रव्याप्यते वेदवाक्यैस्तु इह सा वेदवादिभिः ॥

The Parā Śakti as the Mother Goddess, when meditated on by the gods, manifested Herself before them in a visible anthropomorphic form ; and only then the gods were able to eulogise Her in the form of the present *stuti* and relate some *itihāsa* about Her exploits (Śls. 7-8).

The more important and superior female deities, such as Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Umā, worshipped and eulogised as ‘mothers’, have been regarded in the Hindu mythology as the Śakti-s of their male divine consorts, and as such these are subordinate deities. But the Parā Śakti, the great Mother Goddess, is

supreme and independent and Sarasvati, Lakṣmī, Umā and other goddesses are manifestations of the Parā Śakti. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Hara are merely Her instruments and perform their duties of creation, preservation and destruction through Her grace :—

सृष्टिस्थितितिरोधाने प्रेरयाम्यहमेव हि ।

ब्रह्माणं च तथा विष्णुं रुद्रं वै कारणात्मकम् ॥

—Dbh. XII. 8.77

Even the Brahma(-n), the Absolute and Supreme Being of the Upaniṣads is the *nirguṇa* form of the Great Goddess (Mahādevī), Her *saguṇa* form being the Māyā.

रूपं सदीयं ब्रह्मतत् सर्वकारणकारणम् ।

मायाधिष्ठानभूतं तु सर्वसाक्षि निरासयम् ॥

(—ibid, Śl. 62)

निर्गुणं सगुणं चेति द्विधा मद्रूपमुच्यते ।

निर्गुणं मायया हीनं सगुणं मायया युतम् ॥

(—ibid, Śl. 75)

The Mother Goddess has thus two forms: *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa*; the former (i. e. the *nirguṇa* Brahman) is free from Māyā. There are, therefore, two *bījamantra*-s of the Goddess—viz. *Om* pertaining to Her *nirguṇa* form, the Absolute Brahman, and *Hṛīm* pertaining to Her *saguṇa* form, the Māyā.

In the Vedic as well as in the older epic and Purāṇic texts the ultimate Reality is conceived as 'Puruṣa'; cf :—

पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद् भूतं यच्च भव्यम् ।

उतामृतत्वस्येशानो उदन्नेनातिरोहति ॥

—RV. X. 9.2.

(The present, the past and the future, all is the Puruṣa. He is the lord of the immortality, and [in his Virāt form] surpasses His transcendent form in order to be one with the empirical world).

पुरुषान्न परं किञ्चित् सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः

—Kāṭha-up.

(There is nothing beyond the Puruṣa. That is the ultimate Reality and the highest resort).

पुरुषः स परः पार्थ..... ।

यस्यान्तस्थानि भूतानि येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ॥

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(That Puruṣa, O Arjuna, is Supreme; in Him exists the whole world and by Him is pervaded all this Universe.)

But with the rise and development of the Śakti-cult the Śāktas substituted this male aspect of the ultimate Reality by the female aspect as Mahādevī, Parā Śakti, Durgā etc.; and this female aspect of the ultimate Reality is conceived as 'Mother' by them. But in the non-Śākta literature the male Deity himself is conceived both as 'father' and 'mother'; cf. the *Bhagavad-gītā*, 9.19:—

पिताऽहमस्य जगतो माता धाता पितामहः ।

The later Purāṇas or Purāṇic chapters were influenced by the Śākta-cult and its Śākta or Tantric literature, as can be noticed in the *Devī-māhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa*, *Devī-bhāgavata*, *Devī-purāṇa*, *Kālikā-purāṇa* etc., which contain the Śākta philosophy and the Śākta or the Tāntric mode of worship, and also several highly inspiring eulogies of the Mother Goddess. Like the *Viṣṇu sahasra-nāma* and the *Śiva-sahasranāma* of the *Mbh.* we have also the *Devī-sahasra nāma* in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (Cri. ed., I. 11.76-211.)

In the present *stuti* from the *Devī-bhāg.* the Goddess eulogised is the Supreme Being, the Parā Śakti, the Mother, under-lying and pervading the universe.

She is the supreme Energy (Parā Śakti) manifesting Herself into the Śāktis (*viz.* Dhārāṇā, Vāk, Ramā and Umā) of Ananta (Śeṣa), Brahmā, Hari and Hara, and thus enabling these gods to perform their respective functions of upholding, creating, preserving and destroying the world. All the female as well as the male deities are Her Śakti-s and therefore She has been called here as the *sarva-śakti* (Śl. 4). As She is the ultimate source of the universe, She has been addressed here as 'Mother' (*Mātāḥ*) (Śls. 4, 7). She is the mistress of all the dignity, majesty, power and prosperity and She alone shines:—

त्वमेव समस्तविभवेष्वरि भासि नूनम् । (Śl. 11).

—Anand Swarup Gupta

THE SAHYĀDRIKHAṆḌA : SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING A TEXT-CRITICAL EDITION OF A PURĀNIC TEXT

By

STEPHAN HILLYER LEVITT

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन सह्याद्रिखण्डनामकस्य पुराणग्रन्थस्य विस्तार-विषय-पाठादिविषयाणां विस्तृतं विवेचनं कृतम् । सह्याद्रिखण्डनामके पुराणग्रन्थे सह्यपर्वतवर्तितक्षेत्राणां तत्संबन्धी-तरविषयाणां च वर्णनं वर्तते । सह्याद्रिखण्डस्य पुष्पिकासु ग्रन्थोऽयं स्कन्दपुराणस्य खण्डरूपेण वर्णितोऽस्ति । वस्तुतः षट्संहितात्मकस्कन्द-पुराणान्तर्गते अनेके खण्डा वर्तन्ते ये स्वीयासु पुष्पिकासु स्कन्दपुरा-णान्तर्गता आत्मनः स्वीकुर्वन्ति । इत्थं स्कन्दपुराणस्य श्लोकसंख्या महाभारतवत् लक्षश्लोकात्मिका तदधिका वा वर्तते । अस्मिन् निबन्धे सह्याद्रिखण्डनामकस्य स्कन्दपुराणखण्डस्य डा० कुन्हामहोदये न १८७७ ईसवीये वर्षे प्रकाशितस्य संस्करणस्य हस्तलेखेषु विद्यमानस्य ग्रन्थस्य च पाठविषये विस्तारविषये च तुलनात्मकं समीक्षात्मकं च विवेचनं कृतम् । वर्तमाने सह्याद्रिखण्डे उपलब्धा केचन अंशाः कस्मात् पुराणात् ग्रन्थाद् वा आहृत्य समामेलिता इत्यपि विवेचितम् । सह्याद्रिखण्डे केचन भ्रष्टाः पाठा वर्तन्ते तेषां संस्कारे कियत् काठिन्यमित्यपि प्रदर्शितम् । संक्षेपतोऽस्मिन् निबन्धे सह्याद्रिखण्डस्य सांज्ञोपाङ्गं पाठस्वरूपविषयादीनां विवेचनं कृतम् ।]

1.1 The *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa*, or Book of the Sahyādrī Range of Mountains—that is, of the Western Ghats, is one of a large number of books which attach themselves in their colophons to the *Skandapurāṇa*.¹

According to the *Kālikākhaṇḍa*, which attaches itself to the *Sanatkumārasmṛitī* of the Skp, the Skh is together with itself one

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1. Henceforth, the *Sahyādrī-khaṇḍa* will be referred to as Skh and the *Skanda-purāṇa* as Skp.

of the twenty-five *khaṇḍa*-s which comprise the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā*.² And indeed there is one MS reported in the catalogs which does place the Skh in the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā*—that of the *Vānavāsikṣetra-māhātmya* reported by Julius Eggeling in his *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, part VI.³

Albeit in a misleading manner, R. C. Hazra notes this in his *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*.⁴ His primary listing of the Skh, however, is as one of a large number of *khaṇḍas* which are met with in MS form but which do not find place in any of the reported accounts of the Skp or in the Skp as represented in its 'present' *khaṇḍa* format.⁵

1.2. As is well-known, the Skp is an enormous and at present rather amorphous work. It is divided by some sources into six *saṃhitās* which are further sub-divided into various *khaṇḍas*, and by other sources into seven *khaṇḍas*, these also further sub-divided into *khaṇḍas* and *māhātmyas*.⁶

2. Text given in Hrishikeśa Śāstri and Śiva Chandra Gui, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College*, vol. 4 (Calcutta : Printed by J. N. Banerjee and Son, Banerjee Press, 1902), pp. 171-174; referred to in detail by R. C. Hazra in *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, University of Dacca Bulletin No. 20 (Calcutta : University of Dacca 1940, n. 186, pp. 159-160).
3. (London : Printed by the order of the Secretary of State for India in Council, 1899), p. 1369.
4. R. C. Hazra, in n. 198 on p. 161, gives the erroneous impression that Eggeling in his *Catalogue*, part VI, Haraprasad Shastri in his *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta vol. V (Calcutta : Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1928) and Śāstri and Gui in their *A Descriptive Catalogue* all affirm that the Skh is a section of the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā*. Actually, only Eggeling mentions this, and then only in his notice of the aforementioned MS of the *Vānavāsikṣetra-māhātmya* where he notes that the MS states to be the case. What Hazra actually does in this note is list all the notices of the Skh and sections thereof in these catalogs.
5. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records*, pp. 161-162.
6. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records*, pp. 157-161; followed by P. V. Kane in *History of Dharmasāstra*, Government Oriental Series Class B, No. 6. vol V. 2 (Poona : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1962), p. 91.

At the time of H. H. Wilson's writing of the preface for his translation of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, first published in 1840, these two disparate divisions had not yet been firmly established. Quoting from the *Matsyapurāṇa*, he gave the size of the Skp to be 81,000 stanzas and noted that

it is uniformly agreed that the Skanda Purāṇa in a collective form has no existence ; and the fragments in the shape of Saṃhitās, Khaṇḍas and Māhātmyas, which are affirmed in various portions of India to be portions of the Purāṇa, present a much more formidable mass of stanzas than even the immense number of which it is said to consist.⁷

He also noted that Col. Vans Kennedy, in *Researches into the Nature and Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, had stated that according to the *Sūtasamhitā* of the Skp, the Skp contained six saṃhitās, five hundred khaṇḍas and 500, 000 stanzas.⁸

The *Sambhavadakāṇḍa*, one of the seven khaṇḍas of the *Sivarahasya-khaṇḍa* of the *Śaṅkarasaṃhitā* of the Skp, gives the length of the Skp in its saṃhitā format as 100,000 ślokas.⁹ This figure, together with that of the *Matsyapurāṇa*, we may take to be traditional ascriptions of size of the Skp.¹⁰ With regard to it, however, we should keep

7. *The Vishnu Purāṇa, A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition* 3rd ed. (Calcutta : Punthi Pusthak, 1961), p. xlv.
8. *The Vishnu Purāṇa* p. xlv. The page reference for Kennedy's *Researches into Mythology* (London : Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831) is p. 154, in the n continued from the preceding page.
9. See Eggeling, *Catalogue*, part VI, pp. 1363-1364 for the breakdown of ślokas per saṃhitā. Quoted by Hazra in *Studies in the Purāṇic Records*, p. 158. Certainly not all the stanzas were ślokas. The term is being used, almost without a doubt, to refer to stanzas which may not necessarily be in śloka metre, but which invariably are so.
10. It is clear from a comparison of the number of ślokas in the four lists given by Hazra in *Studies in Purāṇic Records*, pp. 158-160, taken from the *Sambhavadakhaṇḍa*—noted above, the *Śivamāhātmyakhaṇḍa* of the *Sūtasamhitā* of the Skp, the *Saurasamhitā*, and the *Kālikākhaṇḍa*—the last three after Eggeling, *Catalogue*, part VI, pp. 1378 and 1382 and Śāstri and Gui, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. 17, in order—that with regard to the number of ślokas all four lists go back to one tradition. In this tradition a difference of opinion appears to have grown up as to the number of ślokas to be ascribed to the *Sanatkumār-saṃhitā* on the one hand

in mind that it may have been used originally merely to indicate that the text had great size. The size of the text in its 'present' *khaṇḍa* format, as represented by the Veṅkateśvara Press edition (Bombay, 1909-11), is 92,398 stanzas.¹¹ For the breakdown of this figure by section of text see Table I.

I give these figures in order to point out that in speaking of the Skp we are speaking of something which is on the order of the *Mahābhārata*, and which perhaps dwarfs it. According to some prefatory material describing the contents of the *Mahābhārata* at the time of the prefatory material's composition, the *Mahābhārata*.

and the *Saurī*--or *Saurasamhitā* on the other. Differences other than this can all be explained on the grounds of clerical errors. All four lists can be taken therefore to indicate the 100,000 *śloka* figure. The *Kālikākhaṇḍa*, it should be added, also provides for several of the *samhitās* the number of *khaṇḍas*, parts and chapters of which the text is supposed to be composed. This breakdown does not fit well with that into *ślokas*, and would therefore appear to indicate still another traditional ascription of the size of the Skp.

11. The count is my own. To be kept in mind when looking at the table is the difference in the size of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* as in this edition (11,593 stanzas) and as reported by Wilson in his *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, p. xlvī, where he notes it to consist of 15,000 stanzas. Was Wilson's text significantly different from that reported in this edition? Also to be kept in mind is that the last stanza in some *adhyāyas* is defective. Sometimes the last number of the *adhyāya* refers to two *pādas*, sometimes to six *pādas*. In my count I always took the last two *pādas* of such stanzas as a stanza. A breakdown of the number of *adhyāyas* in each section of the Veṅkateśvara Press edition is given also in L. D. Barnett, *A Supplementary Catalogue of the Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit Books in the Library of the British Museum Acquired During the Years 1906-1928* (London: Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1928), pp. 806-807. There are three errors in that list which might be noted here : (1) *Kaumārikākhaṇḍa* is 66 *adhyāyas*, not 63; (2) the *Mārgaśīrṣamāsamahatmya* is 17 *adhyāyas*, not 4; and (3) the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, which is not broken down into *pūrvārḍha* and *uttarārḍha* in the *British Museum Catalogue 1906-1928* is listed as having 100 *adhyāyas*, the number of *adhyāyas* of the *uttarārḍha* only, rather than its full total of 150 *adhyāyas*.

contained 85,000 verses.¹² In the 'Calcutta edition' it contains over 90,000 verses, not counting the *Harivaṃsa*.¹³ And in its shortest recension in the critical edition it contains over 88,000 verses.¹⁴ This is roughly on par with the reported size of the Skp in its *saṃhita* format and with the size of the Skp in its *khaṇḍa* format as represented by the Veṅkateśvara Press edition. We must remember, however, that in our MS collections, together with MSS which assign themselves to sections of one or the other of these two formats, there is a very large mass of material which attaches itself variously to sections of the Skp not encompassed by either of the two breakdowns and there are a number of MSS which claim to be otherwise unnoticed *māhātmyas* belonging to some section in one or the other of these two breakdowns.

In short, the text of the Skp cannot be considered at this time to be established on sound historical and critical grounds. Wilson's statement quoted above still has a great deal of force.

1.3. I will deal with the problems involved in editing the Skp specifically at another time. I am attempting at this time only to place the Skh in proper perspective. Though the Skh may at one time have been considered to be a section of the Skp proper, given the context of our present MS evidence of the Skp we must consider the Skp to represent rather one of a large number of independent works which has kept its own integrity and which has a text-tradition separate from the confusing mass which generally goes under the name '*Skandapurāṇa*'. As such, I treat the Skh here as a text which provides examples of the types of severe problems which occur in editing a *purāṇa* text.

1.4. An edition of the Skh, together with many of its attached *māhātmyas*, was published in Bombay in 1877 by J. Gerson

12. Dutt, Romesh C., *The Ramayana and Mahabharata*, Everyman's Library 403 (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc.), p. 324.

13. Dutt, *The Ramayana and Mahabharata*, p. 324. The 'Calcutta edition' is that edited variously and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal at the Education Committee Press and the Baptist Mission Press in 5 vols. between 1834 and 1839.

14. Narasimhan, Chakravarthi V., *The Mahābhārata: An English Version Based on Selected Verses* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. vii.

DaCunha, a Goan Christian who claimed *brāhmaṇa* origin.¹⁵ DaCunha maintained that in his edition of the Skh the multiplicity of copies used had controlled what he found in the MSS to be alterations, interpolations, mutilations, and plain miscopying. It is impossible to state with certainty, though, the number of MSS which actually were available for any section of the text. DaCunha did not note which MSS represented which section of text. The variant readings he gave were truly very few, and were for the very beginning of the text only. And the *sigla* used to denote the MSS from which the variant readings came were not in full accord with those listed in the beginning of the book.¹⁶ That the multiplicity of copies he referred to did not control the presence of mislections and nonsense passages should be apparent to anyone who has tried to translate his text. See, for example, D. R. Mankad's troubles, noted in his article "The Yugas" in *Poona Orientalist*.¹⁷ It is probably because of this that the translation of the text announced to be forthcoming in the edition never appeared.

I discuss DaCunha's edition fully elsewhere.¹⁸ Let it suffice here to note politely that it is inadequate.

2.0. What are the problems involved in a text-critical edition of the Skh ?

2.1. The first is the constitution and ordering of the text.

15 Buckland, C. E., *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1906), p. 105. See also George Mark Moraes, "Dr. Jose Gerson da Cunha 1844-1900," in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, n. s. vols. 39-40 (1964-65), pp. 1-50. The edition was published by Thacker, Vining and Co.

16 Those variant readings which DaCunha did give represented three discrete MSS of the text, what may have been another discrete MS of the text which DaCunha had not identified in the beginning of the book with the listing of his *sigla* and, in total confusion five MSS of the text which he had noted to be copies of one another together with the *siglum* which referred to all five as a group and what would appear to be two additional unnoted MSS which fall in with this group.

17. Vol. 6 (1941-1942), pp. 207-208.

18. Stephan Hillyer Levitt, *The Pātityagrāmanirṇaya: A Puranic History of Degraded Brahman Villages* (Dissertation-University of Pennsylvania, 1973), pp. 8-26, 30-34, 42-47, and 69.

The text, as in DaCunha's edition of 1877, is composed of 67 chapters in the *ādirahasya* and 21 chapters in the *uttarārdha*. If the reader will refer to the 'Preliminary Outline'—Table II, he will see that the text is unusual, particularly for a book which is supposedly attached to a larger *purāṇa*, in that chapters 1 through 36 certainly, and perhaps chapters 37 through 41 as well, appear to treat the *pañcalakṣaṇa*, or five topics which all *purāṇas* are supposed to treat but which few except our present *Viṣṇupurāṇa* do treat at length.¹⁹ Following this (chapters 42 through 49) is a discourse between the ṛṣi Durvāsa and Maheśvara called the *Durvāsopaniṣad*. There are then 17 chapters (chapters 50 through 67) which are inadequately described in their colophons for us to be able to ascertain what they are about at present.²⁰

The *uttarārdha* deals in its first three sections with *brāhmaṇas* of the Konkan region. The first deals with the origin of *brāhmaṇa* groups and the creation of the Konkan coast, the second with the creation of the Konkan coast and then with the introduction of *brāhmaṇas* from Ahichatra by Mayūravarmān of the Kadamba dynasty, and the third with the origin of degraded *brāhmaṇa* villages. The topic, or topics, of the remaining two chapters is uncertain. The text of the chapters is very corrupt. It clearly includes, however, the arrival of Śaunaka at the 12-year sacrifice given by him.

2.1.1. Our first concern here is that at least some of the chapters come originally from other sources. *Durvāsopaniṣad*, while not noted anywhere to be a separate *upaniṣad*, is noted by Monier Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* to be a section of

19. The divisions in this chart are based on a list compiled of all speakers in the Skh as in DaCunha's edition and a translation of a list compiled of all the given chapter titles in DaCunha's edition. For the rarity of extensive treatment of the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* see, for example, Kane, *HOD*, vol. V. 2, p. 811.

20. This section is mainly a discussion between Vyāsa and Sanatkumāra with brief discourse by a large array of speakers: a son, Deveśvara, Devī, Devadeva, Mahādeva, a king, Śilāda, the *maruts*, Īśvara, the *ṛṣis*, Vāyu, Vasiṣṭha, Kārtikeya, the *devas*, Brahman, and a Dagdha (?).

the *Śivapurāṇa*.²¹ Chapter 20 of the *uttarārdha* is the first chapter of the *Rāmakṣetramāhātmya*, a glorification of the land of the Bhārgava Rāma. This *māhātmya* attaches itself to the Skh but is not among those given by DaGunha in his edition.²² Chapter 8 of the *uttarārdha* is in a style very different from the chapters preceding and following it, and we may therefore suspect that it also comes originally from another source.

That chapters from one text should be found elsewhere is not an unusual phenomenon for *purāṇa* texts.²³ It means, however, that there devolves onto the editor the responsibility of consulting MSS of the section of text under examination in all of the locations to which it can be traced. The editor must then attempt to determine, with demonstrable basis, what changes, if any were introduced in the text in question in order to make it fit better in its new environment, what state of preservation the text was in at the time of its inclusion into the new environment, and what differences in the text in its different environments are due to 'ordinary' corruptions and scribal changes within what became after transposition separate textual traditions.

The main problem, however, and one which raises some special considerations, arises from a point which I discovered while attempting to track down the *Durvāsopaniṣad* noted above. As I noted in n. 21, I could not find this *upaniṣad* in Rāmateja Śāstrin's edition of the *Śivapurāṇa*. I therefore went back to Monier-Williams' main source, Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth's

21. See Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum, An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit Works and Authors*, 2 vols. (1891, 1896, 1903; rpt. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1962), Horace I. Poleman, *A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, American Oriental Series, vol. 12 (New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1938), and Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, new ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899). I must note, however, that I have gone through all the chapter titles, colophons and noted speakers in Rāmateja Śāstrin's edition of the *Śivapurāṇa*, *Śrīśivamahāpurāṇam (Samāhātmyam)*, (Kāśī: Paṇḍita-Pustakālaya, [1933]), but have been unable to locate this section of text.

22. See Eggeling, *Catalogue*, part VI, pp. 1371-1372.

23. See Hazra, *Studies in Purāṇic Records*, p. 7; Kane, *HOD*, vol. V. 2, p. 841; Wilson, *Vishṇupurāṇa*, p. xxxvii.

Sanskrit-Wörterbuch.²⁴ I found there that they refer the reader to Aufrecht's *Verzeichniss der Oxforder Handschriften* (= Oxford University, Bodleian Library, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae*, part VIII, vol. 1, *Codices sanscriticos complectens*, confecit T. Aufrecht (Oxford, 1864), page 76a, chapters 34-41. Upon checking this reference I discovered that while the MS in which the chapters are located indeed refers to itself as "*śivapurāṇe*," Aufrecht lists it with MSS of the Skp, and that the section of text in which the chapters referred to by Böhtlingk and Roth were located was of the *Jñānakhaṇḍa*, which is to say the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa* of the *Sūtasamhitā* of the Skp.²⁵ An examination of the table of contents of the MS as given by Aufrecht amazed me as many of the chapters listed were held in common by the *ādirahasya* of the Skh and as the format of the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa* was the same as that of the *ādirahasya* of the Skh, the main difference arising from the presence in the *ādirahasya* of the Skh of the large section on *kṣatriyas* and *brāhmaṇas*. A listing comparing the contents of the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa* as in this MS with those of the Skh as in DaCunha's edition is given in Table III. As can be seen from this table, there is the possibility that both texts come in the main from another source, perhaps a fuller version of the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa*. Of interest is the displaced chapter titled '*Śivapuravarṇana*', the only chapter contained by both texts which does not fall in the same order in both, indicating the possibility that in the Skh editing of the original text may have taken place to fit its specific needs. There are other points of extreme interest also in the comparison, but this is not the proper place for such discussion.

What is of import here is that the table clearly indicates that work on the Skh must go hand in hand with work on the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa*, and that the relationship between the two texts must be firmly established on a critical basis. Coming into play with this is a commentary on the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa* by Madhva. That Madhva also

24. 7 vols. (1855-1875; rpt. 1965, Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz).

25. See Hazra, *Studies in Purāṇic Records*, p. 160, n. 187. Identity of the *Jñānakhaṇḍa* and of the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa* is also supported by evidence from a MS of sections of the Skh in the India Office Library which was used by me in my edition of the *Paṭityagrāmanirṇaya*.

wrote such a commentary clearly indicates that the text was popular in the Sahyādrī area treated in the Skh. It does not indicate, I hasten to point out, that the Skh as we have it came to the format as in DaCunha's edition after Madhva's time, as it may have been that the same forces which led Madhva to write a commentary on the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa* led to the transposition of this text to the Skh, perhaps at a date far anterior to Madhva's. Only a critical examination of the text in its different traditions and as commented on by Madhva can determine this.

The problem which arises, aside from the added, though well-defined work, is that should we reconstruct the text from all available evidence, this constructed text may not be the text as it was when it became the Skh. As pointed out above, changes may have been introduced, or the text's state of preservation at the time of transmission may not have been perfect. However, we are faced with the possibility, particularly in the light of what will be presented below, that the text when it became the Skh may have been very corrupt. And it is extremely difficult to reconstruct a corrupt text; and especially difficult, if not impossible I might note, to reconstruct a corrupt text from the type of MSS which we have for the Skh.

We are also faced with the possibility of contamination in our MSS of the Skh from MSS of the text coming from other textual traditions. That is, MSS of the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa*, for example, may have been consulted in preparing MSS of the Skh at a date after the Skh as we have it had already taken over the chapters which it holds in common with that text. This would thereby introduce readings into the Skh textual tradition which were not in the 'autograph' or which did not develop as a result of simple corruption from or improvement on the 'autograph.'

The solution of this problem is not one which can be decided in the abstract, however, and full appreciation of it is dependent on what is pointed out in sections 2.2 and 2.3 below. I merely mention it at this point, and reserve discussion of its exact nature for a later date when I will have had time to compare the text as in MSS of the Skh and the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa*, and as referred to by Madhva in his commentary on the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa*.

2.1.2. Our second concern with regard to the constitution and ordering of the text is that there appear to be chapters which

are not included in DaCunha's edition. A MS of a text which titles itself *Vānavāsīkṣetramāhātmya*—a glorification of the land in the area of the Kadamba capital city Vānavāsī, corresponds to nothing in DaCunha's edition and claims to be chapters 22 through 26 of the Skh.²⁶ Another MS, of a section of the *uttarārdha* only, included in it three chapters which, while they appear to belong topically together with the chapters with which they are found, also are not represented in DaCunha's edition. All deal with king Mayūra-varman of the Kadamba dynasty and the establishment of the 'thirty-two villages' of *brāhmaṇas* from Ahichatra. One of these chapters, located just before chapter 8 of the *uttarārdha* as in DaCunha's edition, refers to itself as chapter 20 of the *uparibhāga* (*uttarārdha*).

There are as well other chapters which, while professing to belong to the Skh do not find place in DaCunha's edition. For these I refer the reader to the introduction of my edition and translation of the *Pāṭityagrāmaṇṛṇaya*, pp. 24-26, more fully cited in n.18 above, and to Arthur Berriedale Keith's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, vol. II (Oxford: Published by order of the Secretary of State in Council for India at the Clarendon Press, 1935), pp. 1030-1034. I will note here, however, that the numbers of all these chapters indicate that there are still additional chapters of which we do not possess record among present notices for MSS of the text. And this is a possible solution to a problem with which we are presented by the *uttarārdha* of the text at least.

The different section of the *uttarārdha* as in DaCunha's edition do not fit well with one another. In fact, they are disjunctive. The second and third sections, as shown in the 'Preliminary Outline', are both in their broadest framework related by Sūta to the *ṛṣis*. However, the discourse of the third section does not follow that of the second and, indeed, it appears to presuppose something which is not present. Our alternate solution is that the different units of this section of the text come from different sources or from different sections of the same source. Discontinuity, I must point out, is not unusual with our present manuscripts of *purāṇa* texts. See for example, H. H. Wilson's brief account of the contents of the *Brāhmaṇapurāṇa* published first in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

26. See Eggeling, *Catalogue*, part VI, p. 1369,

of Great Britain and Ireland, vol 5 (1839), pp. 65-72, and then posthumously in *Essays, Analytical, Critical and Philological on Subjects Connected with Sanskrit Literature*, vol. 1 (=Rost, Reinhold, ed., *Works by the Late Horace Hayman Wilson*, vol. 3), pp. 8-21.²⁷

2.1.3. Our third concern with regard to this point—a concern which is closely connected with that of missing chapters and chapters not included in DaCunha's edition—is that the numbering of the chapters of the Skh is not uniform in the different MSS of the text that we have. As my experience so far is mainly with MSS of the *Uttarārdha* and sections of the *Uttarārdha*, I will restrict most of my comments to this section of the *khaṇḍa*.

It is clear that the chapter numbering and ordering of the Skh as in DaCunha's edition follows that of a specific ordering of the text which bases itself on what must have been a specific compendium of Skh chapters. Though a *bona fide* numbering and ordering, it is not established on critical principles and may very well be a comparatively late ordering.

In the MSS used by me in editing the *Pātityagrāmanirṇaya*, section 3 of the *uttarārdha* as found in the 'Preliminary Outline,' this numbering and ordering was found in a MS which is for all intents and purposes a copy of DaCunha's edition and in two MSS which are closely related to one another but which, from the point of view of their readings, are slightly closer to one of the MSS which does not contain its chapter numbers in common with DaCunha's edition. The MSS with the numbering as in DaCunha's edition, we must note, were the only MSS which represented, 'complete' copies of the Skh.

The other MSS, which contain among their number our textually better MSS, present us with a very confusing situation. One numbers chapter 1 through 12 of the *uttarārdha* 81 through 92 of this section. Another lists chapter 10 of the *uttarārdha* as chapter 25 of the *uparibhāga* (= *uttarārdha*). It leaves dashes for the other chapter numbers of those chapters of our presently edited Skh which it gives. This is the MS mentioned above as including three chapters not present in the edition. A third MS omits all references to chapter numbers. And a fourth, only of chapter 9 through 19

27. (London : Trübner and Co., 1864).

of the present *uttarārdha* numbers these chapters 88-90, 191-193, 174-175, 194, and 124-125 of the *uparibhāga* (= *uttarārdha*).

The problem may be partially—and only partially—defined with more clarity by defining what I see to be three different numbering systems indicated by our MSS :

(a) The numbering system of DaCunha's edition.

(b) A numbering system which numbers the chapters of the *uttarārdha* with numbers in the 80's and 90's. This perhaps reflects a numbering system in which the *uttarārdha* chapter numbers just continue the sequence set up in the *ādirahasya*. If such is the case, we are missing many chapters, most likely in the *ādirahasya* with our present *uttarārdha* being fairly well set as the numbers in the low 80's appear to correspond to the beginning of our present *uttarārdha*.

(c) The third is a numbering system which gives an *uttarārdha* with more chapters than those which we presently have, and which places our present chapters 9 and 10 in the 20's. This numbering of the chapters might explain the numbers in the 80's and 90's were it not for the fact that it refers to the missing chapters as being in the *uttarārdha*, not in the *ādirahasya*.

I tentatively take the *Vānavāsikṣetramāhātmya* to belong in the *uttarārdha* and to represent part of the missing material in the collation of chapters for which we have evidence of chapter numbers in the 20's. My justification for this bases itself on subject matter on the correlation of this similar subject matter with chapter numbers which, were the *Vānavāsikṣetramāhātmya* to be located in in the *uttarārdha*, would form a unit with the other chapters similarly numbered, and on the identity of speakers in the *Vānavāsikṣetramāhātmya* and the sections of the present *uttarārdha* in question.

I view most of the chapter numbers of the fourth MS referred to above, that of chapters 9 through 19 only as numbered in the system used in DaCunha's edition, to be due to a misreading of a MS which gave the chapter numbers in numerals rather than in the words for these numbers. It is conceivable that *Devanāgarī* '9' was misread as *Devanāgarī* '7' and that elsewhere *Devanāgarī* '7' was misread as '2' by someone more familiar with Telugu script than with *Devanāgarī*. This would give us three chapter 94's, two

of which would be followed by a chapter 95. The one hundred digit would have crept in by some other means—perhaps by the reading of *daṇḍas* as the numeral '1'. Thus we would have chapters numbered 88-95, 94, and again 94-95. Why there should be three chapter 94's and two chapter 95's is a problem, and what it might signify also remains a problem.

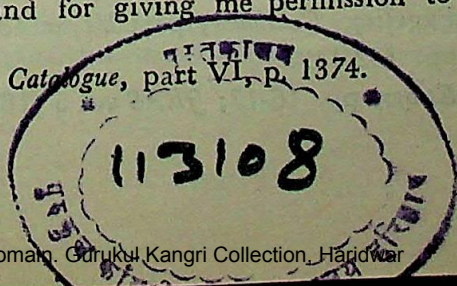
2.1.4 Our fourth concern with regard to the constitution and ordering of the text is perhaps a bit peripheral to the manuscript evidence we have at hand, but should be considered at this time.

There is a partial table of contents for the Skh on folio 163 verso of MS. Mill 79 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.²⁸ It is located in a text which gives a large number of such tables of contents. There are many points in this table which require explanation. One point, though, does seem to be clear. A reference to Table IV, which gives a translation of this table of contents, will demonstrate that its contents do not tally with the Skh as in DaCunha's edition. This may be attributed to much of the material it lists simply being unrecognized at present. Indeed, the text of the Skh as in DaCunha's edition must be well edited and translated before we can be sure. The present Skh, however, does not seem to have much material on *Īlā* and does not have sixteen chapters of discussion between *Bhṛūgi* and *Śiva*. These are just two examples of the great divergence which appears to exist.

The question this table of contents raises is whether or not there was once an entirely different version of the Skh. Perhaps when the *Kesarakṣetramāhātmya*--one of the *māhātmyas* not included by DaCunha in his edition--assigns itself to the *Sahyādryuttarakhaṇḍa*²⁹ it is not assigning itself to the *uttarārdha* of the Skh, as we would suppose normally and as has been supposed generally, but rather to a 'new book' which deals with the Sahyādri range of

28. See Oxford University, Bodleian Library, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum...*, part VIII, vol. 1, MS. No. 142, p. 84. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Department of Oriental Books at the Bodleian Library, Oxford and Mr. N. C. Sainsbury for providing me with a photocopy of this and for giving me permission to use it in print.

29. See Eggeling, *Catalogue*, part VI, p. 1374.



mountains. That is, it assigns itself to the text that we have been discussing here as the Skh as opposed to an original work called the Skh which is different from this, for which we do not have at present any recorded MSS and which perhaps we may be bold enough to suggest is the Skh alluded to at the beginning of this paper as a section to the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā* of the Skp.³⁰ Perhaps such a situation is also the case for the *Rāmakṣetramāhātmya*, a MS of which in the India Office Library attaches itself to the *Uttara sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* three times.³¹ Certainly this is a peculiar way to refer to the *uttarārdha* of the Skh. That *purāṇas* have undergone rewrites wholesale is suggested convincingly by H. H. Wilson in his discussion of the *Vāyupurāṇa* in the posthumously published collection of essays referred to above,³² in his discussion of the *Brāhma-purāṇa*³³ and elsewhere.

There is a peculiar situation here, however, even within the framework of Wilson's statements. What may eventually be considered to be a rewrite appears to be less sectarian and more historically oriented than what we may eventually decide to be a record of an older text. If such does prove to be the case we will have in our possession what may be a bit of evidence suggesting to us the possibility of an influence in western India which is as yet unarticulated in the context of its secularizing effects on texts at least. This may have been Jain, and there is possible evidence of a paleographic nature, which will be noted below, which might

30. The one MS we have which assigns itself to the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā*, noted above, would probably not be part of this missing text, however. As pointed out in section 2.1.3, I would assign it to the *uttarārdha* of the present Skh. For a good example of the lack of relationship which may exist between a colophon and the information in it on one hand and the colophon as in the MS from which it was copied on the other see Edward B. Cowell and Robert A. Neil, *The Divyāvadāna, A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1886), pp. v-viii. A scribe may include in a colophon what he knows or thinks and not what his original states. It is possible that some scribe of the *Vānavāsikṣetramāhātmya* may have been familiar with the tradition which attached the Skh to the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā*.

31. Eggeling, *Catalogue*, part VI, p. 1373.

32. pp. 142-143.

33. *Essays*, pp. 16-17; *JRAS* vol 5 (1839), pp. 69-70.

suggest this. But we cannot be certain. Also to be kept in mind in this regard is the material noted above in 2.1.1 with regard to the connection between the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa* and our present Skh.

2.2. The second problem in preparing a text-critical edition of the Skh is the wide spectrum of variations in our readings. In the section of the Skh that I edited, this spectrum reached nearly unbelievable proportions. There is every indication that such a situation exists for the entire text.³⁴

2.2.1. Our first concern with regard to this problem devolves from the presence of synonyms and paraphrases. These were present mainly in one of our MSS, and to a lesser extent in another. They often proved to be extremely helpful in reconstructing the text as it should be from the basis of the other MSS. For example, in one case our main synonym-paraphrase giving MS reads *aputrā mama vallabhā*, from which we were able to arrive at the reconstructed reading *putrahīno tha me 'ṅganā'*. In another case this MS reads *putrārthaṃ mama cārvaṅgīm udvāhaṃ kriyatām iti*, enabling us to arrive at the reconstructed text *kriyatām mama cārvaṅgī sakhāyaḥ putrakāmiṇaḥ*. They do prove to be a problem as well, however.

In one case the MSS which normally do not give synonyms and the MS which gives synonyms to a very small extent can be demonstrated on the basis of *testimonia* to all possess, in common, a paraphrase of the correct reading. The correct reading is given in the MS which generally possesses synonyms and paraphrases. I refer here to a situation in which all MSS read *so 'haṃ brahmeti* except for our main synonym-paraphrase giving MS, which reads *haṃso 'ham iti*. This latter is the standard utterance. The former is the explanation of it.³⁵

34. See the article referred to above—D. R. Mankad, "The Yugas"—and P. V. Kane, *HOD*, vol. II. 1 (1941), pp. 72, 73, 74-75, 79, 88, 99 and vol. III (1946), p. 929, and compare R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. I (Bombay: Printed at the Government Central Press, 1920), pp. 242-243 with A. D. Pusalker, "Paraśurāma and the Konkan," in P. K. Narayana Pillai, ed. *Kerala Studies*, Prof. A. Gopala Menon Commemoration Volume (Trivandrum: University of Travancore, 1955), p. 6.

35. See T. R. Śrinivāsa Ayyaṅgar, trans., *The Yoga Upaniṣads* (Adyar, Madras: The Adyar Library, 1938), pp. 198-216 or, for a more easily accessible and more popularly stated explanation, Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian*

In other cases the manuscripts which normally do not give synonyms demonstrated that they possessed a synonym of what should be the correct reading against our MSS which normally give synonyms, which in these cases give the correct readings.

For example, in one case where only one of our synonym-paraphrase giving MSS is present, this MS reads *purastattu*, which we may take as a corruption of *purastāt tu*, while all the other MSS, as in the previous example cited above, give the synonym *purobhāge*. That the former is our correct reading is supported by a parallel state ment in close proximity in which it is given by all MSS except two, which give the synonym there too. These two MSS, however, are not numbered among our best MSS.

In another case all MSS except our synonym-paraphrase giving MSS read *svādhinam*. Our two synonym-paraphrase giving MSS read *svavaśam*. This latter can be judged to be the correct reading as the text of these two MSS is noticeably better than that of the other MSS at this point.

It is on bases such as this, added to the observation that our two synonym paraphrase giving MSS do not appear to give synonyms or paraphrases in the same places, that we arrive at situations elsewhere such as that in which all MSS except these read what we judge to be the synonym *bhūtale*, with the two MSS in question giving what is judged to be the 'correct' reading, *bhuvane*.

We also come across situations in which three ordinarily non-synonym giving MSS provide us with a synonym against what can be judged to be the correct reading held in common by our two synonym giving MSS, another of our better MSS and two MSS which often align themselves with this latter MS, and in which one of our better non-synonym giving MSS gives the synonym *janapā-paughā* for our reconstructed reading *jonatāghaugham*.

2.2.2. The main concern, however, involves something which some may, on first sight erroneously consider to be a blessing. We have comparatively few variant readings *per se*. That is, we have very few readings which we can plug into any construction of the

Art and Civilization, ed. by Joseph Cambell, Bollingen Series VI (Princeton, New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 47-50,

text and which will make sense given the present evidence we have for the construction of the text. Rather than this, what we have are words, or phrases, or sentences even, which must be ruled out usually on contextual or grammatical bases. These include :

(a) inappropriate words, such as one MS's *mātaṅga*^o, 'elephant' or 'person of low social status,' for *mātaṅḍa*^o, 'sun'; or three MSS's *vaineya*^o, 'to be converted to the true religion,' for our reconstructed *vraiheya*^o, 'a rice field'; or one MS's *snātva*, 'having bathed,' for *nāmnā*, 'by name.' These sometimes are due to orthographic confusions, such as *vivāham*, 'marriage,' in two closely related MSS, for *vivādam*, 'dispute,' 'd' having been misread as 'h.'

(b) stock phrases placed in contextually inappropriate places, such as *nāgapuṇṇāgair*, 'with cruel and excellent men,' placed by all MSS except one in a list of plants, against our reconstructed *rājapūgaiś ca* 'and with Rājapūga trees,' suggested by the one remaining MS and a parallel passage elsewhere.

(c) words and phrases which amount to no more than a batch of nonsense syllables, such as three MSS's **garbhinyārtānitāṃ tava*, one MS's **garbhinyās tānitāntavaḥ*, another's **garbhinyārtānī- tāntavaḥ*, and two MSS's **garbhinyatānitatvavaḥ*, against our reconstructed reading, held in the main by another MS, *garbhinyas tā vitantavaḥ*, 'those pregnant widows'; or one MS's **vainyeya*^o, 'two others' **vainyeva*^o and one other's **vraiḥaya*^o, with the readings of three others having been given above under (a) against our reconstructed *vraiheya*^o, 'a rice field.'

(d) inappropriate case endings—with the MSS sometimes displaying a wide variation of a single word, such as **°vindākyam*, *°vindaikya*, *°vindhyaikā*, and *°vindhaikā* for *°vindaikyah*; or, in a list of plants in the nominative plural, *°paṭalau...°vañjulau*, and *°paṭalī...°vañjulāḥ* (with two MSS reading *°vañculāḥ*), for *°paṭalās...°vañjulāḥ*.

(e) inappropriate verbal conjugations, such as *ninayed*, *nirmāya* and a linking form *ninaye* (see 2.2.3 below), for *nināya*; *tiṣṭhantu* for *tiṣṭhanti*; and **kākriye*, *nākriye* and *na kriye* for what can be established by comparison with the same passage elsewhere in the text to be *na kuryām*.

(f) awkward or incorrect Sanskrit, which in some cases can be demonstrated with a respectable amount of justification to be due

to scribal misreadings, such as *tava mukhendor galitaṃ* and *tava mukhendugalitaṃ* for *bhavanmukhenduvigalat*, *tava|bhavan* being due to a misreading of *Jainalipi* or otherwise non-standard *Devanāgarī* 'bh' for 't,' with a dropping of the final 'n' coming in its wake.

(g) awkward or incorrect Sanskrit due to the inclusion of stock phraseology or what may have been considered to have been a more usual phraseology, such as the transformation of the vocative *vimalāśaya*, held in corrupt spellings by our two better MSS, to *vividhāni ca*. This fits very well with the preceding word *dharmāni*, but it creates a problem in that the introduction of the conjunctive particle *ca* places it after both the first and third items in a list, whereas we would normally expect it after all three items or, as in our reconstructed text, after the third item only.

(h) strings of words which simply do not fit together due to the inclusion of stock phraseology or what may have been considered to have been more usual phraseology, such as what happens to what in our reconstructed text forms the sentence *ataḥ kathāmṛtaṃ puṇyaṃ prāpayasva bhavārtiḥ rāhasyaṃ vividhaṃ brahman*, 'O *brāhmaṇa*, because of this have us drink the mysterious diverse nectar-like story which is auspicious and which destroys the pain of existence.' In DaCunha's edition and in all our MSS proper with the exception of our two best MSS we find that *kathāmṛtaṃ puṇyaṃ prāpayasva* has been transformed into *kathāmṛtaṃ śrotuṃ puṇyapāpa*⁰. This eliminates the unusual verb form *prāpayasva* by finding in it the word *pāpa*, which is then put together in stock fashion with the word *puṇya*, the *anusvāra* of which is dropped to facilitate this, and the simple and usual infinitive *śrotuṃ* is inserted to take the place of *puṇya*—now moved into the next *pāda*—and to provide a verb for which *kathāmṛtaṃ* can be the object. What results both raises philosophical peculiarities and fails to form a sentence—the finite verb having been removed—or an acceptable phrase or acceptable phrases which can be taken together with either the preceding or following sentences.

(i) awkward or incorrect Sanskrit the genesis of which cannot be explained, particularly since it often does not advance the narrative but rather confuses it, such as *pāpracchus tā nṛpottama* in DaCunha's edition, which, if we take *tā* to be *tān* cut short as the result of orthographic practices well-attested in the various MSS of the text, might translate, while creating problems, 'O best of

kings, they questioned them', versus our reconstructed *pupuṣus tān* *śiśūn nṛpa*, 'O king, they reared the children.'

(j) words which might make sense in context except that their reading occurs together with a nonsense syllable or nonsense syllables and with a wide variation of nonsense in other MSS, such as *cakrur *nā*, which finds itself listed together with **krīṇī*, **cakrīṇī* and *cakraṇī*.

Often, we find also that mistakes or willful alterations such as these have inspired or required additional mistakes or alterations. We saw this to be the case in the example of strings of words which simply do not fit together above (h). Another is a case where the verb *procuḥ* was substituted for the verb *petuḥ*, which then required the introduction of an entirely new *pāda*—*paraṇṛn-tabhuwasthale*—of questionable import in its present form at least, but in the locative, to take the place of *pādayor bhārgavasya tāḥ*, 'they fell at the feet of the Bhārgava.' Through what mechanism the verb change came about we cannot be sure given our present information. Undoubtedly it was suggested by the preceding *uccairākranditāḥ*, 'with loud lamentation.' The evidence of our MSS shows that it was not done by simple fiat, though. That the chosen reading is the correct one here can be demonstrated on the basis of the requirements of sense and continuity in the storyline and on the basis of parallel passages elsewhere in the text.

2.2.3. Added to such mistakes and alterations are such standard variations as :

- (a) The addition or omission or an *anusvāra* here and there.
- (b) Indecision in the MSS as to whether *saṃdhi* should be applied at a *caesura*.
- (c) Misspellings pure and simple.

The misspellings present us with our third concern here in that sometimes a scribe appears to have recognized some word through the misspelling, so he corrected it. One example of this which falls in with what I referred to above as words which might make sense in context except that their reading occurs together with a nonsense syllable or nonsense syllables may be found in the various readings for what is in our best MS *bhāṣābhedaṇi*, but what is elsewhere *bhāvayety *āsaṃ*, *bhāṣatety *āsaṃ* and *bhāṣayety *āsaṃ*.

The problems enter, however, when the word chosen is not the word which it should have been but is rather *in toto* an acceptable word which is contextually inappropriate, or when the word chosen actually does fit the text. In the last case what we have obtained from the scribe is a legitimate variant reading. Examples of this are *jugupsur vai* in four MSS, with what we can take to be misspellings of this in two MSS and our preferred reading, *jaguḥ sarve*, in our best MS; or the readings *asatya*⁰, *asākṣya*⁰ and *asākṣa*⁰ in various MSS with our best MS providing our preferred reading, *asākṣi*⁰. Elsewhere, in a case in which our preferred reading is established as *°samadyutiṃ* on the basis of parallel passages, our MSS read **°mahadyutiṃ*, **°sadyutiṃ*, **°sam[?]dhṣtiṃ*, and, providing an acceptable variant, *°mahādyutiṃ*.

Sometimes these readings can be demonstrated to be due to paleographic causes on the basis of the intermediate readings in the MSS. In an example cited above one of the readings for *nināya* was noted to be **ninaye* and another *ninayed*. Undoubtedly what happened here is that someone read the form *nināya* as if the long 'ā' was an 'e' written in *pūrvamātra* fashion as in *Jainalipi* or just a non-standard form of *Devanāgarī*, and then wrote it as an 'e' would normally be written in our *Devanāgarī* of today. Someone else, seeing this, added the 'd' so as to make an acceptable verb form,

2.2.4. The fourth concern with regard to the wide spectrum of variations in our readings, which results from the above three points, is that we have few MSS of the Skh. This concern encompasses two main factors.

The first is that given the situation just described with regard to the readings it is necessary that we have as many MSS as possible in order to be able to determine, for example, when we have a correct reading and misspellings or a reading determined by a scribe on the basis of misspellings but without the correct reading.

The second is that of the eight MSS I used in editing the *Paṭityagrāmanirṇaya* two, both of which were fragments of the *uttarārḍha* only, proved to be significantly better than the other MSS. Neither of them was readable alone, but they contained readings which were not present or otherwise indicated in the other MSS, which were often radically different from the readings in the other MSS and which, when combined with the other MSS,

resulted in a text which made better sense and which proved to be simpler and therefore more defensible.

Because of this second point we can be certain that the text of the chapters for which neither of these MSS was present is much more speculative than that of the chapters for which they were present. Even though this text is presently as well established as possible on the basis of all available evidence, we can be sure that it is tentative only. Unless MSS comparable to our two better fragmentary MSS can be turned up for the entire Skh we are in trouble—not because the general outline of what is going on cannot be deduced, but because many of the nuances upon which theories and facts will be built by those who abstract information from the text without applying the proper controls, in the long run, may prove to be incorrect.

2.2.5. An additional concern which arises from the first three points above, and which is our fifth concern with regard to this problem, involves the determination of names. When these are Sanskrit names which are expectable or well attested our problem is not too great. When they are unusual names which are not commonly noted or which may be in a vernacular, such as those given to newly formed families in chapter 10 of the *uttarārdha* of the Skh or those of two *śūdra* chiefs in chapter 11 of this section of the text, it is virtually impossible to determine them correctly without *testimonia*. For the sentence in question with regard to the family names in chapter 10 of the *uttarārdha*, for example, Da Cunha's edition reads, *gāṣṭilayaḥ kaṁnataṁ ca vaidyavac cānicātaraḥ | herambārāye ledālaś ca navaikeryamānavāḥ | kouḡihemṇakalkūrā paścāt saṁbhāvātā bhavān*. Our best MS omits this verse and a half altogether. Our second best MS inserts *saṁgrahe* before the sentence and then gives fourteen dashes for the first two *pādas*. It then reads, *hebāreyadaheḷāś ca navaite cāryamānavāḥ | koḍagīhema - - rāḥ paścāt saṁbhāvitābhavan*. Variant readings from the other MSS for the third and fifth *pādas* of this sentence are *hebāreyaledālaś ca...koḍakīhenyakalkūrāḥ*, *hebāreyaledaulāś ca (hevāra^o) ... goḍagīhemṇakalkūrāḥ*, and ... *koḍagīhemṇakalkūrā*. What are we to do with this?

This problem does not always surface in such an extreme form, however. In some cases the unfamiliarity of the scribe with the tradition results in the names becoming corrupted, though not in such an extreme fashion, and in names being added in some

MSS and dropped in others. For an example of this see Appendix E in my edition of the *Pāṭiyagrāmanirṇaya* where lists from different MSS of what are known as 'the thirty-two villages' are given.³⁶ In such cases, given a respectable number of MSS, head-way can be made.

2.3. The third problem involved in the production of a text-critical edition of the Skh involves the contents and format of the critical apparatus.

2.3.1. Given the situation that has been described above with regard to the readings and with regard to the number of MSS for the text, leaving out misspellings, even, may result in misrepresenting the text for the critical reader. It sometimes will force us, for example, to decide which reading a certain MS has when in actuality it may have a misspelling which links two readings. Leaving out a word which is not a true variant reading but which is an acceptable Sanskrit word just because it can in no way be construed to fit may also misrepresent the text for the critical reader. Such a reading may prove to be crucial in deciding for a different reading which comes from or is suggested by a new MS which makes better sense. We must also remember something which has not been stated specifically so far : our present MS evidence is such that at one point one MS may have a paraphrase, two MSS may have various corruptions of the readings chosen and a fourth may have a substitution phrase. With only few MSS, the omission of such material might misrepresent the text at that point.

2.3.2. The problem would be simplified if the MSS displayed their readings in such a way that we would draw up a clear MS pedigree. We would then be able to eliminate obviously idiosyncratic nonsense and perhaps, after justifying the pedigree, even eliminate many of the proper words which do not make contextual sense.

36. For a situation exactly parallel to this see the differences in a list of *pradeśas* as reported by A. B. L. Awasthi in his *Studies in Skanda Purāṇa* (Lucknow : Kailash Prakashan, 1965), pp. 24-28. The list has as its sources the Bombay Veṅkateśvara Press edition, cited above, and a Lucknow edition, printed by 'Nawel Kishore Press, in 1916, which I take to be possibly (?) that listed in the *British Museum Catalogue 1906-1928* as having been printed in Lucknow in 1909-11 with a Hindi translation by Devīdayālu Miśra.

But we do not have this. Rather, the situation is one of a complicated network of readings with our best MSS sharing readings with our worst and our worst providing sometimes very good readings indeed. Except when one MS can be shown to be a recent copy of another, across the board conflation appears to be the rule with each MS agreeing to either a greater or a lesser extent with each other. Remarkably enough, I might add, even a relatively bad MS sometimes shows an occasional reading from a good MS.³⁷

2.3.3. The problem would also be simplified if we could demonstrate that we have recensions. We would then be able to simplify our critical apparatus on the basis of these. We do not possess in any of our MSS, however, groups of readings which differentiate themselves one from another. As we might expect from the experience of the editors of the critical editions of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the evidence displayed in our MSS of corruption due to Telugu or Kanarese script, to *Devanāgarī* and to *Jainalipi* or a non-standard form of *Devanāgarī* similar to *Jainalipi*, does not set up what these editors termed a 'text tradition' as Telugu script and Kanarese script MSS have proved to represent the same 'tradition,' and as *Devanāgarī* MSS have proved to represent only such 'traditions' as are represented by the more localized scripts or by itself where it is itself the local script.³⁸ We might expect the situation to be different if we had a MS in Malayalam script, but none has come to light so far. And as there is only one error in the MSS of the *Patītyagrāmanirṇaya* which can be

37. One MS of which I possess film can be shown to be for the entire *Patītyagrāmanirṇaya* a direct copy of DaCunha's edition together with misreadings of this printed edition. At least at one point elsewhere in the *uttarārdha*, however, while this MS still remains to all observation a copy of DaCunha's edition, it introduces one reading which is represented in a misspelled form in our best MS and in another MS only, and not in the edition. Why the scribe may have chosen to include a reading here or there from what may have been a relatively good MS and to otherwise preserve the bad readings of his main source remains a mystery to me.

38. See Vishnu S. Sukthankar, ed., *The Mahābhārata*, vol I. *The Ādiparvan* (Poona : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933), pp. vii, xxx, and G. H. Bhatt, ed., *The Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*, vol. I. *The Bālakaṇḍa* (Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1960), pp. xxix and xxxi.

construed, albeit with a great deal of question, as being due to an orthographic confusion involving Malayalam script, it is very doubtful that any will come to light. Nor do we possess in our MSS insertions or omissions which might point the way to such groups of readings. Rather, a situation is indicated in which scribes introduced or omitted insertions and commentary type inserts at discretion, and in most cases seemingly from a ready stock of such inserts. This last statement, however, must not be taken to be categorical.

2.3.4. It short, the choice we are faced with is either to provide all the readings, as was done by Ludwik Sternbach in his *Cāṇakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition*,³⁹ and as was done by Franklin Edgerton for the metrical recension of the *Vikramacarita*,⁴⁰ even though the result will be bulkier than that with which either of these scholars was dealing. Or we can weed out on what must be a basically arbitrary basis all readings other than proper variant readings whenever these readings do not prove to raise doubts as to the accuracy of our reading. The considerations to be taken into account with regard to this latter alternative would be the reliability of the MS, contextual acceptability and the degree of variation in all the MSS at the point in question. It is this latter alternative which is, of course, more feasible from the point of view of practicality as publication of the full mass of material might not be greeted well by a publisher.

Before any such decision is made, however, it would be necessary to determine first whether or not there is any relationship between readings and the ordering of the text. While it does not appear from the material that I have examined that we have a definable MS pedigree or definable recensions, some sort of as yet undemonstrable correlation may prove to be present in a section of the text for which we might have enough MSS to determine such a correlation. Any abbreviation of the critical apparatus then

39. 2 vols. in 5, Vishveshvaranand Institute Publication 254, 310, 431, 437, 492 (Hoshiarpur : Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, 1963-1970).

40. *Vikrama's Adventures, or The Thirty-two Tales of the Throne... Part II : Text, in Four Parallel Recensions*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 27 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1926), p. 245.

would have to be tempered by this so as not to misrepresent the MS tradition.

2.3.5. We are then faced with the additional problem of how to represent the readings of sections of the text which are found in environments outside the Skh. Perhaps parallel text with a critical apparatus of its own is the solution to this problem, rather than including all of this material in what will be nevertheless an overly bulky apparatus. It would be better to discuss this point after obtaining practical experience with the sections of the text in question, however.

3.1. The editing of different types of texts presents us with different types of problems.

In editing Northern Buddhist texts, for example, we come across such problems as having to determine what is original Middle Indic, what is just bad Sanskrit coming down to us from the autograph—when such can be said to exist, what is due to corruption engendered in the transmission of the text, and what is correct Sanskrit due to Sanskritization. Included with this is the problem of errors heaped on errors due, ostensibly, to the attachment of merit to the mere copying of texts. This sometimes leads to the situation expressed by D. L. Snellgrove, among others, in vol. 2 of his *The Hevajra Tantra* where he notes that lack of confidence in the correctness of the original forced him to rely on translations and commentaries in Tibetan in order to determine the sense of the text, which is represented by these at an earlier stage in its development. He then edited the Sanskrit text on the basis of these.⁴¹

In an authored Jain text in Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī for which I have been collating MSS the problems which will be involved in the

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41. For more detailed discussion of the problems involved with Northern Buddhist texts see Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol I: Grammar (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), pp. 1-14, Christopher S. George, *The Candamaharoṣaṇa Tantra, Chapters I-VIII* (Dissertation—The University of Pennsylvania, 1971) and D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra, A Critical Study*, Part 2: *Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts*, London Oriental Series, vol. 6, part 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. vii-xi.

editing appear to involve primarily determination of the sense and the shape of a comparatively few words, considerations of a metrical and (linguistic) dialectical nature and considerations of minor spelling errors. Only very few genuine variant readings are present, and the text itself appears to be in doubt in only a handful of instances.

Edgerton, in editing the southern recension of the *Vikramacarita*, was faced occasionally with rewrites of section of text, with occasional deletions or additions and with occasional garbled and generally bad text. Other good copies, though, made it possible for him to pretty much ignore these in his editing.⁴²

Here we are presented with a different type of situation which is atypical in its own way. In this paper I have attempted to outline this situation and in doing so, I believe that I have been able to define with greater clarity than previously done, and to place in greater relief, the problems involved in editing a puranic text. I have, I realize, pretty much omitted any discussion of interpolations even though it is these which are usually given major attention in discussions of the difficulties involved in work with puranic texts.⁴³ I have omitted such discussion, however, as interpolations have not presented an insurmountable difficulty in my work with the Skh so far. Though present, they are fairly transparent in most cases. When such is not the case, they nevertheless can be identified clearly to be passages which are questionable.

42. *Vikrama*, Part II, pp. 245-256.

43. See, for example, Kane's comment in *HOD*, vol. V. 2, p. 838, with regard to the dating of sections or even verses of the *purāṇas*, and Thomas J. Hopkins, *The Hindu Religious Tradition* (Encino, California and Belmont, California: Dickenson Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), pp. 95-97.

TABLE I
THE *SKANDAPURĀṆA* AS REPRESENTED IN THE
VENKTEŚVARA PRESS EDITION
(BOMBAY, 1909-11)

Section	Number of adhyaṃyas	Number of stanzas
I. <i>Maheśvarakhaṇḍa</i>		
1. <i>Kedāarakhaṇḍa</i>	35	3,509
2. <i>Kaumārikākhaṇḍa</i>	66	6,438
3. <i>Aruṇācalamāhātmya</i>		
<i>Pūrvārdha</i>	13	1,090
<i>Uttarārdha</i>	24	967
TOTAL	115	12,004
II. <i>Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa</i>		
1. <i>Veṅkaṭācalamāhātmya</i>	40	2,468
2. <i>Puruṣottama- (Jagannātha -)</i> <i>kṣetramāhātmya</i>	49	3,299
3. <i>Badarikāśramamāhātmya</i>	8	500
4. <i>Kārtikamāsamāhātmya</i>	36	1,809
5. <i>Mārgaśīrṣamāsamāhātmya</i>	17	875
6. <i>Śrībhāgovatamāhātmya</i>	4	199
7. <i>Vaiśākhamāhātmya</i>	25	1,739
8. <i>Ayodhyāmāhātmya</i>	10	987
9. <i>Vāsudevamāhātmya</i>	32	1,414
TOTAL	181	13,290
III. <i>Brahmakhaṇḍa</i>		
<i>Pūrvabhāga</i>		
1. <i>Setumāhātmya</i>	52	5,039
2. <i>Dharmāraṇyakhaṇḍa</i>	40	3,062
<i>Brahmottarakhaṇḍa</i>	22	2,094
TOTAL	114	10,195
IV. <i>Kāśīkhaṇḍa</i>		
<i>Pūrvārdha</i>	50	5,889
<i>Uttarārdha</i>	100	5,704
TOTAL	150	11,593
V. <i>Āvāntyakhaṇḍa</i>		
1. <i>Āvāntīkṣetramāhātmya</i>	71	3,594
2. <i>Līṅgamāhātmya</i>	84	4,379
3. <i>Revākhaṇḍa</i>	232	7,949
TOTAL	387	15,922

Section	Number of adhyāyas	Number of stanzas
VI. <i>Nāgarakhaṇḍa</i>		
<i>Hāṭakeśvarakṣetramāhātmya</i>	279	14,919
VII. <i>Prabhāsakhaṇḍa</i>		
1. <i>Prabhāsakṣetramāhātmya</i>	365	8,734
2. <i>Vastrāpathakṣetramāhātmya</i>	19	1,626
3. <i>Arbudakhaṇḍa</i>	63	1,825
4. <i>Dvārakāmāhātmya</i>	44	2,290
TOTAL	481	14,475
GRAND TOTAL	1,707	92,398

TABLE II

Preliminary outline of the *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* as in Da Cunha's Edition.¹

Ādirahasya

Topic or Title	Chapter Numbers	Discussants	
		A	B
First four topics of <i>Pañcalakṣaṇa</i> ?	1	Vyāsa (Q) and Sanatkumāra (N)	
	6		Various occasional speakers (Q and N?)
	19		
	20		Devī (Q) and Maheśvara (N)
History of <i>kṣatriyas</i> etc.	25		
	26		Gaṇeśa (Q, sometimes N) and Maheśvara or Mahādeva (N)
	36		

i. Abbreviation : Q = Questioner ; N = Narrator. The speech of discussants B is related by the N of discussants A.

Topic or Title	Chapter Numbers	Discussants	
		A	B
Topic(s) uncertain	37	↓	↓
	41	↓	Ganeśa, Maheśvara and occasional speakers (N)
<i>Durvāsopaniṣad</i>	42	↓	Durvāsa (Q) and Maheśvara (N)
	49	↓	↓
Topic (s) uncertain	50	↓	↓
	52	↓	Brief discourse by many speakers
	67	↓	↓

Uttarārdha

Origin of <i>brāhmaṇa</i> groups and Creation of Konkan coast	1	Skanda (Q) and Mahādeva (N)	
	6	↓	
Creation of Konkan and introduction of <i>brāhmaṇas</i> by Mayūravarmān	7	<i>Rṣi</i> (Q) and Sūta (N)	Nārada (Q) and Skanda (N)
	8	↓	↓
Origin of degraded <i>brāhmaṇa</i> villages	9	<i>Rṣis</i> (Q) and Sūta	Śatānīka (Q) and Śaunaka (N)
	19	↓	↓
Topic (s) uncertain but including arrival of Śaunaka at 7-year sacrifice	20	?Śaunaka (Q)	
	20	↓	
	21	?Śaunaka (Q) and	
	21	?Śatānīka (N)	

TABLE III

Preliminary Correlation of Chapters of the *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa*,
Ādirahasya (Ed., Da Cunha) and the *Jñāna[yoga]khaṇḍa*
 as in Manuscript No. 129 in the Bodleian
 Library, Oxford.¹

Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa, *Ādirahasya**Jñāna[yoga]khaṇḍa*

1. Brahmāṇḍotpatti	1. Material analogous to that of
2. Sṛṣṭīkrama	2. first 5 chapters of Skh. ā.
3. Bhūmivistāra	3. according to Latin description
4. Narakavarṇana	4. given by Aufrecht in his
5. Saptalokākhyāna	5. catalog of Bodleian Library
.....	Sanskrit MSS.
6. = ?	6.
7. Brahmagītākathana	7.
8. Brahmagītā	8. Bramagītā
.....	9.
9. Śivapuravarṇana (=Jñkh 56)	10.
.....	11.
10.	12.
11.	13. Vibhīṣaṇamaheśvarasamvāda
12.	
13. Pralayotpattikathana	14. Nāmasaṃkīrtana
14. Pañcāyatana	15. Sthānamāhātmya
15. Śivamāhātmya	16. Guhyākhyāna
	17. Maheśvaradarśana
16. Liṅgodbhava	18. Liṅgodbhava
17. Puṣpādidānamāhātmya	19. Puṣpādidānamāhātmya
18.	20. Puṣpasamuddeśa
19. (= Jñkh 20-21 ?)	21. Puṣparasārasamuccaya

1. Abbreviations: Skh. ā = *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa*, *Ādirahasya*; Jñkh = *Jñāna[yoga]khaṇḍa*. Chapter numbers and titles are indented in each column if the material placed parallel to one another in the two texts does not appear to correspond. The only instance in which the ordering of the seemingly identical material is not parallel in the two texts is in the case of Skh.ā. 9 and Jñkh 56, in which case the chapter is marked off in both texts by broken horizontal lines in order that the reader may correlate them clearly despite their radically different placement. In all other cases, horizontal lines indicate the divisions suggested in Table II (Preliminary Outline of the *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* as in DaCunha's Edition).

*Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa, Ādirahasya**Jñāna[yoga]khaṇḍa*

20. Upavāsavidhi	22. Dānavidhi
21.	23. Nāmavidhi
* 22.	24. Nāmāṣṭamīvidhāna
23. Dānamahimakathana	* 25. Dānadharmavidhi
24. Dharmopadeśa	26. Vratavarṇana
25. Niyamopadeśakathana	27. Yamopadeśa
26. Śaṃkarajātivarṇana	
27. Pāthārīyajātikathana	
28. Pāthārīyajātikathana	
29. Kṣatriyotpattikathana	
30. Kṣatriyotpattikathana	
31. Somavaṇśotpattikathana	
32. Somavaṇśotpatti	
33. Kṣatriyotpattikathana	
34. Kṣatriyotpattikathana	
35. Candrajanmakathana	28. Candrajanmakīrtana
36. Pāthārīyadharmotpatti- kathana	
.....	
37. Bhūtimāhātmyakathana	29. Bhūtikīrtana
38. Liṅgārcanavidhi	30. Liṅgārcanaphala
{ 39.	{ 31.
40. Nandīśvarayoga	32. Nandīśvarayogopākhyāna

TABLE IV

Table of Contents for the *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* as in an Index of
Purāṇa contents in the Bodleian Library, Oxford

Text :

- skanḍapurāṇe sahyādrīkhaṇḍe sūcīpatram.
2. sahyādreḥ śivālayaṃ kṛtayuge yojanamātraṃ tadardhaṃ
tretāyāṃ dvāpare krośamātraṃ kalau ṣaṣṭidhanuṣkaṃ.
 9. devyā aṣṭatīrtanāmādhyaḥ. sahyādrīśṛṅge pārvatyā
vanam. tatra puṃnāmni jñāte strīrūpaṃ bhaved iti
pārvaty uktis. tadā tatra vane iḷa[h] gatas tadaiva
strījātaḥ.
 11. aṣṭottaraśataśivanāmāni.
 13. sahyādrau udambaramūle mandākinī pārvatyā drṣṭā.
 14. gaṅgāṣṭakam.

* Common source from another MS of Jñkh or from a third source ?

16. śivājā[?]viṣaṃvādādhyāyaḥ.
18. iḷāvṛtāntam.
25. rālātadīnām (?) adhyāyaḥ. 11 prakaraṇam.
33. purā surāsuraiḥ sarvaiḥ kṣirābdir¹ mathito² yadā
kṣirāmbudhiṃ tyaktvā yayau viṣṇuḥ śivālayam. 1.
39. bhr̥ṅgiśivasamvāde ṣoḍaśapraka[ra]ṇam samāptam.

Translation :

Table of Contents to the *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* in the *Skanda-purāṇa*.

2. The abode of Śiva in the Sahyādrī mountains is a *yojana* in the *kṛta yuga*, half of that in the *tretā* age, a *krośa* in the *dvāpara* age, and sixty *dhanuṣkas* in the *kali* age.
9. The chapter named the eight *tīrthas* of Devī. There is a forest of Pārvatī's on the summit of the Sahyādrī. Pārvatī said, "Let him with the name of a man obtain a woman's form there." Then Iḷa went to that forest and became a woman.
11. The hundred and eight names of Śiva.
13. At the foot of the Udambara mountain (?) in the Sahyādrī range the Mandākinī river was seen by Pārvatī.
14. Eight chapters (perhaps, verses, or any group of eight) on the Ganges.
16. A chapter in the discussion between Śiva and...
18. The story of Iḷa
25. The chapter... Chapter 11.
33. Once, when the ocean of milk was churned with all the gods and *asuras*, Viṣṇu, having given up the ocean of milk, went to Śiva's abode (i. e., Kailāsa). 1.
36. The sixteenth chapter in the discussion between Bhr̥ṅgi and Śiva is finished.

1. The reading, a misspelling, is 'kṣirābdir.'

2. The reading is 'mathitā.' Apparently the writer, or a scribe, took 'kṣirābdi' to be feminine.

THE HOLY PLACES OF WEST INDIA AS MENTIONED IN THE SKANDA PURĀṆA*

By

UMAKANT THAKUR

[पूर्वतोऽनुवृत्ते अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन स्कन्दपुरा-
णोक्तानां भारतदेशस्य पश्चिमभागेषु स्थितानां तीर्थानां परिचयः
प्रदत्तः । तेषां तीर्थानां सांप्रतिकं किं नाम क्व चावस्थितिरित्यादि-
विषया अपि विवेचिताः ।]

Mādhavatīrtha : this is the temple of Lord Viṣṇu with Śaṅkha, Cakra; and Gadā in his hands. It is situated on the bank of the Viṣṇukunḍa in Prabhāsa.¹

Mahādevasara : According to the Sk. P. this reservoir was built by Mahādeva who took a bath with Brahmā and Viṣṇu in this shrine. The pond has deep water in it, and is full of lotus all over.² As to the location of this sacred place it may be placed within the area of Dvārakākṣetra.

Mahākāla : In connection with the description of a pilgrimage to Camatkārapura and the other holy places within the same, it is recorded that there is one Ujjayini-pīṭha in Camatkārapura, where the Lord Maheśvara stays in the form of Mahākāla. It is said to be a wonderful place of pilgrimage. A śrāddha to Pitṛs in the

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1. Sk. Pra. 299. 1-3

2. Saraś cakāra deveśo bhagavān pārvatīpatiḥ /
Sumṛṣṭa nirmalajalān nalinīdala śobhitam //
Utpalaiḥ sarvataś channān saraḥ sārasa śobhitam /
Tadagādha jalān dṛṣṭvā svayameva pinākadhṛk //
Sa Brahma Viṣṇunā śārdham snātastatra vṛṣadhvajah //
Sk. Pra. Dvā. 14. 29-30

month of Vaiśākha is suggested in the Skanda P.³ It may not be identical with Mahākāla in Avantī.

Mahākāleśvara : The temple of Mahākāleśvara is placed at a distance of thirty Dhanuṣas i. e. 52½ yards to the north-north-west of Aghoreśa tīrtha in Prabhāsa. The very phallus was known as Citrāṅgadeśvara in Kṛtayuga.⁴

Mahāprabhāsa : According to the Sk. P. there are so many tīrthas known as Prabhāsa such as Vṛddha Prabhāsa, Jalaprabhāsa, Mahāprabhāsa etc. As to the situation of Mahāprabhāsa it may be maintained that it is located to the south of Jalaprabhāsa (q. v.). In Tretāyuga it was known by the name of Sparśaliṅga. It is very bright and beautiful to look at. A mere touch of this image awards salvation.⁵

Mahiṣatīrtha : The holy place under reference is described as one of the sub-tīrthas of Dvārakākṣetra.⁶

Mahodayatīrtha : This reservoir is situated to the north-east of Mahākāleśvara in Prabhāsa. It is a holy place where one should take a bath and offer oblation to the ancestors and also the deities.⁷

Mānavaliṅga or *Mānaveśvara* : The phallus of Lord Śiva established by Manu is called Mānavaliṅga. According to the legend, Manu is said to have assassinated his son and being besmeared with the sin he established a liṅga in the Prabhāsakeṣṭra⁸. And after that he was released from the sin of son-murder.

3. Tatraivojjayanī pīṭhamasti kāmāpradaṁ nṛṇām /
Prabhūtāścarya saṁyuktaṁ bahusiddhaniṣevitam //
Yasya madhyagato nityaṁ svayameva maheśvaraḥ /
Mahākālasvarūpeṇa sa tiṣṭhati dvijottamāḥ //
Sk. Nag. 53. 1-2

4. Tato gacchen mahādevi mahākāleśvaraṁ haram /
Aghoreśād uttarataḥ kiñcid vāyavya saṁsthitam //
Dhanuṣāṁ triṁśatā devī śrutāṁ pātakanāśanam /
Pūrvam kṛtayuge devī smṛtaṁ citrāṅgadeśvaram //
Sk. Pra. 93. 1-2

5. Sk. Pra. 198. 1-3

6. Sk. Pra. Dvā 16.12

7. Sk. Pra. 327. 1-2

8. Tatraiva mānavam liṅgam manunā sampratiṣṭhitam /
Pūrvam hatvā sutaṁ devī manuḥ pāpasamanvitaḥ /
Kṣetraṁ pāpaharam jñātvā tatra prātiṣṭhadīśvaram /
Muktaś caivābhavat pāpāt tasmāt putravadhō' dbhavāt.//
Sk. Pra. 218. 1-2

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Maṇḍukeśvara: This phallus of Śiva was established by Māṇḍukyāyana, which is located near Koṭihrada in Prabhāsa⁹.

Maṅkaṇa liṅga: The name of this liṅga is associated with the other three phalli in Hāṭakeśvara¹⁰.

Mārkaṇḍeśvara: According to the Sk. P. the God Mārkaṇḍeśvara is the giver of long life and relief from all the diseases.¹¹

Maṅkiśvara: The temple of Maṅkiśvara is placed to the north of Rāmeśatīrtha near Devamātr to the south of Arkasthala and to the east of Kṛtasmaratīrtha in Prabhāsa.¹² It was established by the sage Maṅkaṇaka or Maṅki in Prabhāsa, where he observed austere asceticism for innumerable years.

Mantravibhūṣaṇa Gaurī: This is the temple of Goddess Gaurī, situated near Bhīmeśvara in Prabhāsa. Previously it was worshipped by the moon¹³.

Markaṇḍāśrama: The name occurs in connection with the description of the river Sarasvatī, which reaches in Mārkaṇḍāśrama or Merupāda.¹⁴

Mārkaṇḍeyeśa: The temple of Mārkaṇḍeyeśa exists to the east of Sāvitrī in Prabhāsaṣetra. It is said to have been established by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya or Mārkaṇḍa¹⁵.

Mārkaṇḍeśvara: The great sage Mṛkaṇḍa practised penance in Ghaṭikāsthāna which stands on the bank of the Hiranyā (q. v.),

9. Sk. Pra. 361. 1-2

10. Sk. Nag. 266. 3-4

11. Sk. Nag. 271.2

12. Tato gacchen mahādevi Maṅkiśvara mahālayam /
Rāmeśād uttare bhāge devamātuḥ samīpagam //
Arkasthalāt tato yāmye pūrvataś ca kṛtasmarāt /
Liṅgam mahāprabhāvaṁ tu maṅkinā sthāpitaṁ purā //
Sk. Pra. 203. 1-2

13. Sk. Pra. 184. 1-7

14. Sk. Pra. 348.1

15. Merupādam samāsādyā mārkaṇḍāśramam āgatā /
yatra mārkaṇḍakam tīrtham merupāde samāsṛitam //
Sk. Pra. 35.37

and attained siddhi. The phallus established by him came to be known as Mārkaṇḍeśvara.¹⁶

Marudārya : After the pilgrimage of Ṛṣitīrtha, one is directed to go to the temple of the Goddess known as Marudāryā. It is situated at a distance of one mile to the west of the former.¹⁷

Megheśvara : It is a wonderful place of pilgrimage in Prabhāsa. The Sk. P. explains that the temple of God Megheśvara stands to the south-west of Pāpamocana and to the east of Anarakeśvara tīrtha. The phallus was established by the clouds. The worship of this phallus removes the fear of drought¹⁸.

Miṣṭānnadeśvara : According to the Sk. P. one gets sweets by the mere visit to this God. The name of the king Vasusena of Ānartadeśa is associated in this chapter.¹⁹

Mṛgīkuṇḍa : The name of this reservoir is mentioned in connection with a pilgrimage to Raivatakagiri (q. v.). This pit is situated on this mountain.²⁰

Mṛṇmaya Līṅga : This renowned phallus is located in Saurāṣṭra.²¹

Mṛtyuñjayeśvara : The temple of Mṛtyuñjayeśvara is situated at a distance of ten Dhanuṣas i. e. 17½ yards to the south-east of Bhairaveśvara and four Dhanuṣas west from Sāgarāditya. In the earlier age it was known as Nandīśvara. One of the Gaṇas of Lord Śiva. Nandi had observed asceticism here.²²

16. Tato gacchen mahādevi mārkaṇḍeyeśam uttamam /
Tasmād uttaradigbhāge mārkaṇḍena pratiṣṭhitam //
Sāvitrīyāḥ pūrvabhāge tu nātidūre vyavasthitam /
Maharṣirabhavat pūrvam mārkaṇḍeya iti śrutaḥ //

Sk. Pra. 209. 1-2

17. Sk. Pra. 360. 1-2

18. Tato gacchen mahādevi marudāryām mahāprabhām /
Tasmāt paścimadigbhāge krośārdhena vyavasthitām //

Sk. Pra. 315.1

19. Sk. Pra. 226. 1-3

20. Sk. Nag. 141. 1-2

21. Gīrīm raivatakaṁ gatvā kuryād yātrām vidhānataḥ /
Mṛgīkuṇḍādi tīrthāṇi santi tatraiva koṭīśaḥ //

Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 6.5

22. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 16. 82-84

Mūlasthāna : The name of Mūlasthāna is mentioned in association with the description of Śūlasthāna²³ which is placed on the bank of Devikā, and where the great sage Vālmīki attained accomplishment after observing severe penance. Later on it came to be known as Mūlasthāna²⁴. Dr Kane²⁵ identifies it with modern Multan. According the Padmapurāṇa Mūlasthāna is identified with the old city of Multan which was situated on either bank of the Rāvi²⁶. Huen Tsien²⁷ had a visit to this place and as per his report it is situated nine hundred lis to the east of Sindh. Dr Cunningham²⁸ has also opined likewise. However as the Sk. P. explains its location may be ascertained in Dvārakā-kṣetra²⁹. It included³⁰ twenty-five thousand villages during that time.

Nāgatīrtha : The name occurs several times in the Sk. P., and every-where it has been mentioned as a reservoir. Accordingly there are two reservoirs of this name—one located in Hātakeśvara³¹ and the other in Dvārakā³². Dr Kane³³ refers to it as being located in different places, but none of them is identical with the Sk. P.

Nāgarāditya : This is the temple of God Sun, situated in the vicinity of Hiraṇyā. It was worshipped by the king Satrājita in olden times.³⁴

-
23. Tato gacchen mahādevi Śūlasthānam iti śrutam/
Devikāyāstaṭe rāmye bhāskaram vāritaskaram//
Yatrātapat tapo ghoram Vālmikir munipuṅgavaḥ/
Vālmiki nāma viprarṣir yatra siddho mahā muniḥ//
Sk. Pra. 278. 1-2

24. Sk. Pra. 278. 1-68.

25. Hist. Dhs IV. 782.

26. Geog. Dic. 133-134

27. Ref. by Law-Hist. Geog. 112

28. Anc. Geog. p. 220-24; 230-236

29. Sk. Pra. Dvā. 14.6-12

30. Pañcaviṃśati sāhasraṁ mūlasthānam prakīrtitam/
catvāriṃśat sahasrāṇi grāmānām yāvanaḥ smṛtaḥ //
Sk. Ma. Kau. 39.161

31. Sk. Nag. 31.1-2

32. Sk. Pra. Dvā. 16.4

33. Hist. Dhs IV. 783

34. Sk. Pra. 239. 1-2

Nagara or *Nagarākhyā* : The place known as 'Nagara' is said to be the original place of the Nāgara Brahmins. The legend regarding the origin of this land is very interesting³⁵ in the Sk. P. The Sk. P.³⁶ narrated a very beautiful legend. It is said that once there lived a Brahmin named Devarāja in Maudgalya dynasty in Camatkārapura³⁷. He had a son whose name was Kratha. Once while wondering in the forest he killed a serpent on the 5th day of the second half of Śravaṇa. That serpent was the son of Nāgarāja, the king of the serpents. This serpent cried alike a human being and hearing this cry he fled away from that place towards his home. In the meantime the mother of that baby serpent came and saw her child lying dead at the spot. She wept bitterly and took the dead body of her son to her husband, the Lord of the serpents (Nāgarāja). He was very sorry to see the dead body of his son and hence in order to console him so many serpents came to him. Then they took the dead body to the funeral pyre but at the time of obsequial rites Nāgarāja objected and held that he would not perform any rite further till the destruction of the whole family and village of the murderer of his son. Saying this he allowed all of them to fulfil his desire. Accordingly all of them went to Camatkārapura and began to bite each and every inhabitant of the village. Being afraid of this dreadful affair, most of the villagers began to flee away from this village. Thus the whole of the village was full of serpents, and serpents only. A few of the Brahmins wandering at random reached that place where a Brahmin named Trijāta was staying in the forest for meditation of Lord Śiva. The Brahmins

35. Garam viṣam iti proktaṁ na tatrāsti ca sāmpratam /
 Matprasādāt tvayā hyetad uccāryaṁ brāhmaṇottama //
 Na garam na garam caitac chrutvā ye pannagādhamāḥ !
 Tatra sthāsyanti te vadhyā bhaviṣyanti yathā sukhā //
 Adyaprabhṛti tat sthānaṁ nagarākhyāṁ dharātale /
 Bhaviṣyati suvikhyātaṁ tava kīrtivivardhanam //
 Tathā' nyopi ca yo vipro nāgaraḥ śuddhavaṁśajaḥ /
 Nagarākhyena mantreṇa abhimantrya tridhā jalam //
 Prāṇiṇaṁ kālasandaṣṭam api mṛtyuvaśaṁgatam /
 Prakariṣyati jīvāthyam prakṣipyā vadane svayam //

Sk. Nag. 114. 76-80

36. Skanda Purāṇa—Lucknow Edition, 1908 A. D.

37. Sk. Nag. Chapter 111

told him all about the incident. Trijāta pleased the Lord Śiva and requested Him to destroy the serpents who had spoiled his native land. Then Lord Śiva told him that it was the fault of the Brahmin's son who murdered the baby serpent on the 5th of the second half of the month of Śrāvaṇa, without any reason. So the serpents could not be destroyed. However, he was told to go to the village and mutter the mantras hearing which the serpents would go away from that village and they would be poisonless. Thus Trijāta with other Brahmins went to that village and did everything according to the instructions of Lord Śiva. Consequently all the serpents abandoned the village and went to Pātāla. As there was no poison (Na = no, gara = poison) in the serpents or in the village, the place was known as 'Nagara' and the Brahmins of that village were called Nāgara Brahmins.

Now it is evident that 'Nagara' is identical with Camatkārapura³⁸, which has been identified with the modern Vadanagara in Saurāṣṭra³⁹.

Nāgasthāna : This sacred place is situated to the west of Mañikṣatīrtha⁴⁰. It is also known as Śeṣasthāna. This is the place where Nāgarāditya is said to have abandoned his body.⁴¹

Nandāditya : The temple of the God Sun known as Nandāditya⁴² is situated in Prabhāsa Kṣetra. It is said to have been established by the wise king named Nanda.

Nandinīguphā : There is a cave on the bank of the river Nyaṅkumatī, where the sages are said to live in. A mere visit to this cave is highly eulogised.⁴³

Nārādāditya : The situation of the temple Nārādāditya is fixed at a distance of three hundred Dhanuṣas (525 yards) to the west of Mūlacandī in Prabhāsa. The great sage Nārada worshipped the God Sun and established the image of the same.⁴⁴

38. Sk. Nag. 17.3-6.

39. Tirthāṅka 403.

40. Sk. Pra. 186.1,

41. Nāgarāditya pūrveṇ yatra kāyo visarjitaḥ /

Tadadyāpi prasiddham vai śeṣasthānam iti śrutam //

Sk. Pra. 186.8

42. Sk. Pra. 256.1

43. Sk. Pra. 264.1-2,

44. Sk. Pra. 305.1-2.

Naleśvara : The temple of God Naleśvara is situated at a distance of sixty-three Dhanuṣas (110 yards, 9 inches) to the east of Jaradgavatīrtha. The king Nala established this phallus with his wife with Damayantī, knowing the importance of this kṣetra.⁴⁵

Nārāyaṇagrha : The temple of the God Nārāyaṇa known as Nārāyaṇagrha (the house of Nārāyaṇa) is situated on the shore of the sea to the south of Goṣpada near the river Nyaṅkumatī. God Keśava is said to reside here permanently from ages to ages⁴⁶. It is known by different names in the different ages—such as in Kṛtayuga by Janārdana, in Tretā by Madhusūdana, in Dvāpara by Puṇḍarikākṣa and in Kaliyuga by Nārāyaṇa.⁴⁷

Nārāyaṇa tīrtha : It is situated near Koṭīśvara liṅga in Prabhāsa. To the north-east of this tīrtha stands the Śāṇḍilya-vāpi⁴⁸. Dr Kane⁴⁹ refers to one tīrtha by this name which is not identical with that of the Sk. P. It may be identical with Nārāyaṇasara of Mr Dey⁵⁰ which is said to be a lake at the mouth of the Indus at the western extremity of the Runn of Kacha, eighteen miles south-west of Lakhapat.

Nāsatyeśvara : This is a sacred place situated to the east of Aṣṭakuleśvara in Prabhāsa⁵¹.

Nīlakaṇṭha or *Mārkaṇḍeśvara* : The temple of Lord Śiva known as Nīlakaṇṭha is placed to the south-east of Mānaveśvara (or Mānavaliṅga) in Prabhāsa. It exists in the vicinity of Mārkaṇḍeśvara⁵².

45. Sk. Pra. 345.1-2.

46. Tato gacchen mahādevi nārāyaṇagrhaṁ param
Goṣpadād dakṣiṇe bhāge sāgarasya tate śubhe
Nyaṅkumatyāḥ samīpe tu sarvapātaka-nāśane
tatra kalpāntara sthāyī svayaṁ tiṣṭhati keśavaḥ

Sk. Pra. 337.1-2

47. Kṛte Janārdano nāma tretāyāṁ madhusūdanaḥ
Dvāpare puṇḍarikākṣaḥ kalau nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ

Sk. Pra. 337.5

48. Tato gacchen mahādevi tīrthaṁ nārāyaṇābhidham
Tasyaiveśāna digbhāge vāpi śāṇḍilya kīrtitā

Sk. Pra. 358.1

49. Hist. Dhs. IV. 785.

50. Geog. Dic. 138

51. Sk. Pra. 163.1

52. Tasmād āgneyakoṇe tu mārkaṇḍeya samīpagam/
Guhāliṅgaṁ mahādevi nīlakaṇṭheti viśrutam//

Sk. Pra. 219.1

Nyañkumatī : The river Nyañkumatī finds mention in several chapters of the Skanda Purāṇa. According to the text it is one of the important rivers of Prabhāsakṣetra. It is described as one of the five tributaries of the holy river Sarasvatī in Prabhāsa⁵³. On the bank of this sacred river stand one thousand and twenty phalli⁵⁴.

Nandānadī : The Sk. P. reveals the fact that when the holy river Sarasvatī reaches the place known as Kharjurīvana it is called Nanda, and again from that place it goes to Mārkaṇḍāsrama on Merupāda.⁵⁵

Padmakatīrtha : According to the Sk. P. the holy place namely Padmaka tīrtha stands to the south of Somanātha. It is mentioned as the destroyer of all sins.⁵⁶

Pāleśvara : The temple of the God Pāleśvara is situated in Hātakeśvara. It is remover of all the diseases.⁵⁷ Dr. Kane also refers to Pāleśvara, which is not identical with it.⁵⁸

Pvñcanada : According to the Sk P. the five holy rivers in Dvārakā⁵⁹, are collectively called Pañcanada tīrtha, they are

53. Sk. Pra. 365. 1-7

54. Sk. Pra. Kṣe. 365.3

55. Kharjurīvanam āpannā nandā nāmnīti tatra sā/
Sarasvatī punas tasmād vanāt kharjura sañjñitāt//
Merupādām samāsādyā mārkaṇḍāśramam āgatā//
Sk. Pra. 35.36-37

56. Dakṣiṇe somanāthasya sarvapāpaprāṇāśanam/
Tīrtham trailokya vikhyātam padmakam nāma nāmataḥ//
Sk. Pra. 29.2

57. Sk. Nag. 271.3

58. Hist. Dhs. IV. 787

59. Viṣṇuṃ varapradam śrutvā bhrātṛṇām brahmanandanāḥ/
Mandākinī vasiṣṭheṇa samānītā dharātale//
Ambarīṣādayaḥ sarva ajagmuḥ kṛṣṇapālītām/
Dvāravatyām ca te dṛṣṭvā gomatīm sāgarām gamām//
Tīrthāṇi devatānām ca puṇyāny āyaṭanāni ca/
Tīrtham pañcanadam cakruḥ prajānām patayastathā//
Pañcanadyaḥ samāhūtās tatrā' jagmuḥ surānvitāḥ/
Maricaye gomatī ca lakṣmaṇā cā' traye tathā//
Candrabhāgā cāṅgirase pulahāya kuśavatī/
Pāvanārtham jāmbavatī jagāma kratave tathā//
Tāsu snātṛvā mahābhāgā brahmaputrā yaśasvinaḥ/
Nāmatasya tadā cakruḥ pañcanadyaś ca tāpasāḥ//
Tasmāt pañcanadam tīrtham sarvapāpaprāṇāśanam/
Snātavyam tatra manujāḥ svargamokṣārthibhis tadā// :
Sk. Pra. Dvā. 14.44-50

Gomatī, Lakṣmaṇā, Candrabhāgā, Kuśavatī, and Jāmbavatī. Mr Dey⁶⁰ and Dr Kane⁶¹ also refer to Pañcanada but they differ entirely, however, with regard to its location.

Pañcapiṇḍikā : This is the temple of Gaurī known as Pañcapiṇḍikāgaurī. It was established by the Goddess Lakṣmī herself⁶², in Hātakeśvara. Dr. Kane's⁶³ Pañcapiṇḍa may not be identical with it because to him it is a reservoir though located in Dvārakā.

Pañcasrotasarasvatī : The sacred river Sarasvatī flows in Prabhāsa with its five tributaries. The land of Prabhāsa covering the area of twelve-yojanas (96 miles) is affected by the streams of this Pañcasrota Sarasvatī. Innumerable holy places are established on the bank of all the tributaries of this river. The water of the wells and other reservoirs through which the river runs are treated as very sacred.⁶⁴

Pāṇḍavakūpa : The legend goes that when the Pāṇḍavas reached the Prabhāsakṣetra during the period of their exile, they required water. The reservoir was far off. Hence Draupadī asked them to dig a well there, and consequently all of the Pāṇḍavas constructed a well, which came to be known as Pāṇḍavakūpa.⁶⁵

Pāṇḍaveśvara : While the Pāṇḍavas were passing their days in the forest concealing themselves, they reached Prabhāsa⁶⁶ kṣetra to make a pilgrimage to the holy place. All of them established a phallus which came to be known as Pāṇḍaveśvara. It is situated on the bank of the shrine called Sannihita to the south of it.

60. Geog. Dic. 145

61. Hist Dhs. IV. 788

62. Sk. Nag. 177. 1.

63. Hist. Dhs. IV. 788.

64. Prabhāse kathitā devi pañcasrotāḥ sarasvatī /
yasyāḥ pravāhaiḥ sambhinnaṁ kṣetram dvādaśayojanam//
Tatra vāpīṣu kūpeṣu yatra tatrodभवाम् जलम्/
sārasvatām tu tajjñeyam te dhanyā ye pibanti tat//
Sk. Pra. 365-6-7

65. Sk. Pra. 232. 1-6.

66. Tasyāstu dakṣiṇe bhāge sthitam liṅgam mahāprabham/
Pāṇḍaveśvaranāmadhyam pañcabhiḥ sthāpitam kramāt//
Guptacaryām yadā yātāḥ pāṇḍavā vanavāsinaḥ/
Tīrthayātrā prasaṅgena prabhāsam kṣetram āgatāḥ//
Tasmin kāle mahādevi samprāpte somaparvaṇi/
Sthāpayāmāsaḥ te sarve liṅgam sannihitā taṭe//
Sk. Pra. 86. 1-3.

Parṇāditya : This is the temple of the God Sun known as Parṇāditya.⁶⁷ It is so called because a Brahmin named Parṇāda in Tretāyuga practised severe penance in Prabhāsa for establishing the image of the God Sun. It is situated on the north of the river Pracīsarasvatī.

Parvatatraya : According to the Sk. P.⁶⁸ the three mountains namely Śrīparvata, Arbuda, and Raivataka or Raivata are situated in Hāṭakeśvara kṣetra (q. v.).

Paścimāśa : This is a reservoir within the area of Dvārakā kṣetra.⁶⁹

Pāpaharaliṅga : The phallus of Pāpahara is situated at a distance of three Dhanuṣas (5 yards, 9 inches) from the Siddha liṅga. It is said to have been established by Aruṇa, the charioteer of the Sun.⁷⁰

Pāpaharakuṇḍa : The reservoir known as Pāpaharakuṇḍa is situated at a distance of one hundred Dhanuṣas (175 yards) from Someśatīrtha in Prabhāsa. It is fifty yards in extent.⁷¹

Paśupateśvara : The temple of Paśupateśvara god is placed to the east of Ugraseneśvara and to the south of Dhruveśa. In this yuga it is known as Santoṣeśvara. The Sk. P. explains that the four sages namely Vāmadeva, Sāvarṇi, Aghora and Kapila attained accomplishment here by the grace of this phallus.⁷²

Pīlukarṇikatīrtha : It is situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī in Prabhāsa. The sages are said to have worshipped this shrine.⁷³

67. Sk. Pra. 259. 1-2.

68. Sk. Nag. 190. 23.

69. Sk. Pra. Dvā. 25. 17.

70. Tasyāgneye tu deveśi aruṇena pratiṣṭhitam/
Dhanuṣām ca traye tatra siddhaliṅgam samīpataḥ//
Sūryasārathinā tatra liṅgam devi pratiṣṭhitam/
Kalau pāpaharam nāma darśanāt pāpanāśanam//

Sk. Pra. 15. 1-2.

71. Dhanvantara śate proktaṁ someśajjalamadhyagam/
kuṇḍam pāpaharam proktaṁ śata hasta pramāṇataḥ//

Sk. Pra. 29. 3.

72. Sk. Pra. 103. 1-6.

73. Sk. Pra. 35.74.

Piṅgalinadī : According to Sk. P. the river Piṅgalī⁷⁴ flows from the western portion of R̥ṣitīrtha and empties herself into the sea. It flows through the Prabhāsakṣetra.

Pīṭhatraya : There are three Devīpīṭhas in Prabhāsakṣetra.⁷⁵ They are Caṇḍikā; Karmamoṭī and Yoginīpīṭha. Collectively all the three pīṭhas are called pīṭhatraya. They are situated to the west of Rudreśvara tīrtha.

Prabhāsakṣetra : While describing the importance of Prabhāsa kṣetra the Sk. P. explains that there are three kinds of kṣetras—Kṣetra, Pīṭha and Garbhagṛha, by which the Prabhāsa kṣetra is known. The area of the Kṣetra is twelve yojanas while Kṣetrapīṭha is five yojanas and the area of Garbhagṛha is one Gavyūti⁷⁶. The area of Prabhāsakṣetra is divided into all these three divisions said above. The boundary⁷⁷ of the area of twelve yojanas known as kṣetra is as follows : East—Taptodaka Svāmī, West—Mādhava. The other division known as 'Pīṭhikā'⁷⁸ which exists in Prabhāsa kṣetra has the extent of five yojanas. It is surrounded as follows : West—Vajriṇyā (river), South—Māheśvarī, North—Sea. The Garbhagṛha⁷⁹ has been explained in a very nice way in the Sk. P. The boundary of the whole of

74. Sk. Pra 246.1.

75. Sk. Pra. 189.1.

76. Kṣetram tu trividham proktaṁ tatte vakṣyāmy
anukramāt /
kṣetram pīṭham garbhagṛham prabhāsasya prakīrtiyate //
Yathā kramam phalam tasya koṭi koṭi guṇam smṛtam /
kṣetram tu prathamam proktaṁ tac ca dvādaśa
yojanam //
Pañcayojanamānena kṣetrapīṭham prakīrtitam /
Garbhagṛham ca gavyūtiḥ karṇikā sā mama priyā //
Sk. Pra. 14.11-14

77. Pūrve taptodakasvāmī paścime mādhaveḥ smṛtaḥ /
Dakṣiṇe sāgaras tadvad bhadra nady uttare matā /
Evaṁ sīmā samāyuktaṁ kṣetram dvādaśayojanam //
Sk. Pra. 4.15-16

78. Nyāyikumatyā pareṇaiva vajriṇyāḥ pūrvatas tathā /
Māheśvaryā dakṣiṇataḥ samudrottaratatas tathā //
Āyama vyāsataś caiva pañcayojanavistaram /
Pīṭham etat samākhyātam atho garbhagṛham śṛṇu //
Sk. Pra. 4.18-19

79. Dakṣiṇottarato yāvat samudrāt kauraveśvari /
Pūrva Paścimato yāvad gomukhāc caśvamedhikam /
Etad garbhagṛham proktaṁ kailāśan mama vallabham //
Sk. Pra. 4.20

Prabhāsa kṣetra⁸⁰ is as follows : North-Ravipurī, South-sea, East-Rukmiṇī, West-Taptatoyā. Prabhāsa⁸¹ is described as one of the nine parts of Saurāṣṭra situated on the shore of the sea. It is extended only twenty yojanas. There are also many reasons as to why it is called Prabhāsa. It is called so because the rays of the Sun fall severely here. Once the moon became lustreless due to the curse of Dakṣa and again he regained his lustre here. So it became to be known as Prabhāsa kṣetra.⁸² The river Tāpī is mentioned here as taking its rise from the Vindhya mountain and flowing into the Western Sea. The temple of Somanātha established by the Moon himself,⁸³ stands in Prabhāsa kṣetra. In Kaliyuga the Prabhāsa kṣetra is as auspicious as Kurukṣetra in Dvāpara, Naimiṣa in Tretā and Puṣkara in Kṛtayuga. A pilgrimage to Prabhāsa has been extremely eulogised in the Sk. P.⁸⁴ The Prabhāsa khaṇḍa is one of the seven big volumes of the Sk. P. This volume deals with the description of Prabhāsa kṣetra, Dvārakā kṣetra, Vastrāpathakṣetra, and Arbudācala. This indicates that all these places, Dvārakā, Vastrāpatha and Arbuda are situated within the area of Prabhāsa kṣetra. The description of the Prabhāsa kṣetra only has been explained in 365 chapters in the Skanda Purāṇa.⁸⁵ This kṣetra

80. Uttare raviputrī tu dakṣiṇe sāgarāṁ smṛtam /
 Dakṣiṇottara māno'yaṁ kṣetrasyāśya prakīrtitaḥ //
 Rukmiṇyāḥ pūrvataś caiva taptatoyāś ca paścime /
 Pūrva Paścima māno'yaṁ prabhāsasya prakīrtitaḥ //
 Sk. Pra. 10.54-55.

81. Tasya nairṛta pāde tu saurāṣṭra it viśrutaḥ /
 Sa caivāṁ navadhā bhinnāḥ purabhedena sundari //
 Tasya yo navamobhāgaḥ sāgarasya ca sannidhau /
 Prabhāsa iti vikhyāto mama devi priyaḥ sadā //
 yojanānāṁ daśa dve ca vistīrṇaḥ parimaṇḍalam /
 Sk. Pra. 11.37-39

82. Sk. Pra 11.48-49.
 Sk. Pra. 11.107-108 (for Tāpī)

83. Sk. Pra. 24.17-20.

84. Kṛte yuge puṣkarāṁ tretāyāṁ naimiṣāṁ tathā /
 Dvāpare tu kurukṣetraṁ prābhāsikāṁ kalau yuge //
 Tiṣṭhed yuga sahasrāṁ tu pādenaikena yaḥ pumān /
 prabhāsa yātrāṁ eko vā samāṁ bhavati vā na vā //
 Sk. Pra 28. 55-56

85. —Sk. Prabhāsa khaṇḍa

comprises innumerable tīrthas and liṅgas etc. Mr. Dey⁸⁶ refers to Prabhāsa and indentifies it in three different ways. He identifies it with (a) Somanātha in the Junagar State in Kathiawar, which is also known as Devapattana and Barawal, (b) a small village on the top of a hill, thirty-two miles to the south-west of Allahabad, and three miles to the north west of Kosam Kheraj (Kausambi), (c) a place of pilgrimage in the Kurukṣetra on the bank of the Sarasvatī, near Camasodbheda. Dr. Kane⁸⁷ recognizes it in seven ways, and places it in Saurāṣṭra near the sea, which seems to be identical with that of the Skanda Purāṇa. It was so famous even in the old age that Mahmud Gazni invaded Somanātha for several times and destroyed the temple of Somanātha. The people were so religious in the strict sense that 50,000 dwotees died in defence of the temple of Somanāth. The Nāsik⁸⁷ cave inscription of Naha-pana (119-24 A. D.) also refers to Prabhāsa. Dr. Law⁸⁹ too mentions this sacred place referring to several Purāṇas and Journals but the Skanda Purāṇa.

Prabhāsa Pīṭha : Vide Prabhāsa kṣetra (q. v.)

Prabhāsagarbhagṛha : Vide Prabhāsa kṣetra.

Prabhāsa-pañcaka : In the very beginning five holy places were established near the Nāgasthāna. They are Ādiprabhāsa Vṛddha Prabhāsa, Jala Prabhāsa, Kṛtasmara Prabhāsa and Śmaśāna, which are collectively known as Prabhāsa Pañcaka⁹⁰.

Prabhāseśvara : The phallus Prabhāseśvara is situated at a distance of seven Dhanuṣas (12 yards, 9 inches) to the west of Gaurī Tapovana in Prabhāsa kṣetra. It was established by the 8th Vasu king desirous of having a son.⁹¹

Pratyūṣeśvara : The temple of the God Pratyūṣeśvara⁹² stands at a distance of fifty Dhanuṣas (87½ yards) to the north-east of Someśatīrtha in Prabhāsa. It was established by the Vasus.

Pulaheśvara : This sacred place is situated eight⁹³ Dhanuṣas i. e. 14 yards away from Pulastyeśvara to the south-west.

86. Geog. Dic. 157-158

87. Hist. Dhs IV 791-792

88. Ref. by Law—Hist. Geog. 293

89. Hist. Geog. 293

90. Sk. Pra. 187. 1-4

91. Sk. Pra. 110. 1-2

92. Sk. Pra. 108. 1-2

93. Sk. Pra. 211. 1

Pulastyeśvara : The temple of the God Pulastyeśvara is placed to the north of Mārkaṇḍeya tīrtha at a distance of five Dhanuṣas⁹⁴.

Puṣkaratraya : This holy place is situated in Hātakeśvara kṣetra⁹⁵. It was established by Brahmā. It is one yojana in extent. It is placed to the north of Candrabhāga and co-extensive with the river Sarasvatī. It is also to the south of Karatoyā⁹⁶.

Puṣkarāraṇya : The sacred place known as Puṣkarāraṇya is situated at a distance of six Dhanuṣas (10½ yards) to the north-east of Prabhāseśvara in Prabhāsa kṣetra. There stands a kuṇḍa called Aṣṭapuṣkara, which is very difficult to be obtained by the ill-minded persons⁹⁷.

Dr Kane⁹⁸ refers to it saying that Prācī Sarasvatī flowed through it.

Puṣkarakuṇḍa : This reservoir is located to the north-east of Vicitreśvara tīrtha in Prabhāsa⁹⁹.

Puṣpāditya : This holy place is situated in Hātakeśvara. It was established by Yājñavalkya¹⁰⁰.

Paulomīśvara : The temple of Paulomīśvara stands at a distance of thirthy Dhanuṣas to the north-west of Rāvaṇeśvara in Prabhāsa kṣetra¹⁰¹.

Rāhuīśvara : This is the phallus of God Śiva, established by the planet Rāhu. According to the Sk. P.¹⁰² the temple is situated to the north-west of Śanaīscareśvara and to the north of Ajādevī at a distance of seven Dhanuṣas, not far from the Maṅgalatīrtha in Prabhāsa.

Raivatakagiri or *Raivatagiri* : The Sk.P. ascertains that Raivatagiri is situated in Vastrāpatha (q. v.) which is regarded as the

94. Sk. Pra. 210. 1

95. Sk. Nag. 179. 1

96. Sk. Nag. 179. 4-5

97. Sk. Pra. III. 1-2

98. Hist. Dhs. IV. 794.

99. Sk. Pra. 144. 1

100. Tathā'nyopi ca tatrāsti yājñavalkya pratiṣṭhitah/
Puṣpāditya iti khyātaḥ sarvakāmaprado nṛṇām//

Sk. Nag. 155.19

101. Sk. Pra. 125.1-2

102. Sk. Pra. 50.1-2

kṣetragarbha in Prabhāsa¹⁰³. There stands a forest on this mountain, which is full of several kinds of trees with fruits¹⁰⁴. The location of this mountain is obviously in Saurāṣṭradeśa¹⁰⁵. The western part of the Udayagiri which is situated near Somanātha is known as Raivataka¹⁰⁶. A few of the modern scholars have referred to this mountain and identified it in several ways. Dr Law¹⁰⁷ identifies it with Girnar. Mr. Dey¹⁰⁸ and Dr Kane¹⁰⁹ also refer to this mountain.

Raivateśvara : The beautiful temple of Lord Mahādeva known as Raivateśvara¹¹⁰ is placed in Hāṭakeśvara Kṣetra. It was established by the king of Saurāṣṭra, named Raivata, and hence it is so called.

Rājavāpī : Once the king Daśaratha made a pilgrimage to Hāṭakeśvara kṣetra, and after a bath there in a kuṇḍa, made another reservoir which came to be known as Rājavāpī¹¹¹.

Rāmakūpa : This reservoir is situated near the Ānarttiya Taḍāga in Hāṭakeśvara. It was established by Rāma himself¹¹².

Rāmeśvara : This phallus of Lord Śiva known as Rāmeśvara was established by Paraśurāma, the son of sage Jamadagni. It is situated at a distance of thirty Dhanuṣas (52½ yards) to the north-west of Gopīśvara tirtha in Prabhāsa. As to the origin of this tirtha, the text¹¹³ reveals the fact that Rāma was very sorry to

103. Atha te sampravakṣyāmi kṣetragarbhaṁ mahodayam/
Tad vastrāpatha māhātmyaṁ yatra raivatako giriḥ//
Dāmodaraṁ raivataka bhavaṁ vastrāpathe tathā/
Etad raivatakam kṣetraṁ vastrāpatham iti smṛtam//
Sk. Pra V. Kṣe. 1.1-2
104. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 15.63
105. Saurāṣṭradeśe samprāptaḥ puṇye raivatake girau/
Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe 15.33
106. Somanāthasya sānnidhya udayanto girir mahān/
Tasya paścimabhāge tu raivataka iti smṛtaḥ//
Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 1.68
107. Hist. Geog, 294
108. Geog. Dic. 165
109. Hist. Dhs. IV. 794-795
110. Sk. Nag. 118.1-30
111. Sk. Nag. 98.1-15
112. Sk. Nag. 103.6-9
113. Sk. Pra. 121. 1-7,

kill his mother, Reṇukā, by the order of his father Jamadagni, and thereafter he went to his father. The great ascetic Jamadagni was pleased with him and gave him a boon for Reṇukā to be alive. Still he went to the Prabhāsa kṣetra and worshipped the God Mahādeva establishing his phallus there. This phallus came to be known as Rāmeśvaraliṅga.

Rasakūpikā : This reservoir is situated on Raivataka mountain in Saurāṣṭra.¹¹⁴

Rathāṅgatīrtha : This holy shrine is situated in Dvārakā where all the stones have the sign of cakra (wheel), and hence it is also known as cakratīrtha.¹¹⁵

Rāvaṇeśvara : The temple of Lord Śiva called Rāvaṇeśvara¹¹⁶ was established by Rāvaṇa. It is situated at a distance of sixteen Dhanuṣas (28 yards) to the south-west of Citrāṅgadeśvara.¹¹⁷

Rṇamocana : This is a reservoir and a deity as well in Prabhāsa kṣetra. A visit to this God releases the pilgrims from all the debts regarding mother and father.¹¹⁸

Rṣitoyā : The holy river, Rṣitoyā flows through Devadāruvana¹¹⁹ in the Prabhāsa kṣetra. It seems to be in the west of Devakulasthāna¹²⁰ in Prabhāsa. It flows towards the east when she meets with the sea.¹²¹

Rṣitoyāsaṅgama : This is the confluence of the holy river Rṣitoyā with the sea.¹²² It stands at a distance of the Gavyūti i. e.

114. Sk. Pra. V Kṣe. 6 8

115. Tato gacchen dvija śreṣṭha rathāṅgākhyam mahodadhim/
Cakrāṅkā yatra pāṣāṇā drśyante mukti dāyakāḥ//
Sk. Pra. Dvā. 7.1

116. Tato gacchen mahādevi rāvaṇeśvaram uttamam/
Tasmād dakṣiṇanairṛtye dhanuṣām ṣoḍaśe sthitam//
Sk. Pra. 123.1-2

117. Sk. Pra. Kṣe. 122.1-2

118. Sk. Pra. Kṣe. 221.1-15

119. Sk. Pra. 297.27

120. Yasmājjāto mahādevi tasmāddevakulam smṛtam/
Tasya paścimadibhāge rṣitoyā mahānadī//

121. Samudreṇa sametā tu yatra sā pūrvavāhinī/
Sk. Pra. 297.30

122. Atha deva kulāgneyam gavyūtyā tatra samsthitam/
Samudrasya taṭe ramyam ṛṣitīrtham anuttamam//
Sk. Pra. 314.1

four miles to the south-east of Dvārakā, on the sea-shore. It is fit for bath and Śrāddha to the ancestors.

Rudrakoṭi : The sacred place known as Rudrakoṭi stands to the north of Siddhakṣetra. The Sk. P. explains that when the Brahmin sages of the south heard about the God Śiva in the guise of an ascetic in Camatkārapura, they went there being eager to see him in crores of numbers, and they could see him very easily as the god assumed the equal forms.¹²³ Since then it came to be known as Rudrakoṭi.

Rudraśiṛṣakuṇḍa : This is a reservoir in Hātakeśvara. Even a visit to this holy shrine destroys all sins.¹²⁴

Rudreśvara : The phallus of Rudreśvara is situated at a distance of three Dhanuṣas before the Ādiprabhāsatīrtha. It is said that Rudra himself observed penance here and increased brightness or power.¹²⁵

Ratneśvara : The Sk. P. narrates that God Viṣṇu practised asceticism in this holy place. He is said to have established a phallus here which came to be known as Ratneśvara.¹²⁶

Ratnakūṇḍa : This is a shrine situated at a distance of seven Dhanuṣas to the south of Ratneśvara tīrtha. It was established by Viṣṇu.¹²⁷ It is known by different names in the different ages, such as in Kṛtayuga it is called Hemakuṇḍa whereas in Tretā it is Raupyakuṇḍa. In Dvāpara it is called Cakrakuṇḍa and in Kali-yuga it is known as Ratnakūṇḍa.¹²⁸ The God Kṛṣṇa is said to have practised severe asceticism here and obtained the weapon called Sudarśana cakra, the killer of demons.¹²⁹

123. Sk. Nag. 58.13

124. Sk. Nag. 78.35-36

125. Sk. Pra. 188. 1-3

126. Sk. Pra. 155. 1

127. Tato gacchen mahādevi ratnakūṇḍam anuttamam/
Ratneśād dakṣiṇe bhāge dhanuṣām saptake sthitam/
Mahāpāpopaśamanam Viṣṇunā nirmitam svayam//
Sk. Pra. 159. 1

128. Hemakuṇḍam kṛte proktam tretāyām raupyanāmakam/
Dvāpare cakrakuṇḍam tu ratnakūṇḍam kalau smṛtam//
Sk. Pra. 159. 8

129. Sk. Pra. 155. 2-4

Rukmavatiśvara : This is a phallus established by Rukmavati,¹³⁰ It is situated near R̥ṇamocana tīrtha in Prabhāsa kṣetra.

Sagarāditya : This is the temple of God Sun situated to the west of Bhairaveśvara and Mr̥tyuñjayarudra,¹³¹ and to the south of Kāmeśatīrtha not far from it. It was established by the sage Sagara

Śākalyeśvara : According to the Sk. P. this sacred place is located at a distance of thirty Dhanuṣas (52½ yards) to the north-west of Daityasūdana. The Rājarṣi Śākalya performed severe penance here and the God Śiva appeared before him.¹³² Other great sages like Sāvarṇimanu, Gālava and Śākalya are said to have observed asceticism here, and hence it is known as Bhairaveśvara in Kṛtayuga, Sāvarṇikeśvara in Tretā, Gālaveśvara in Dvāpara and Śākalyeśvara in Kali yuga.¹³³ The compound of this temple is surrounded in eighteen Dhanuṣas¹³⁴ (31½ yards).

Śakambhari tīrtha : This is the temple of Goddess Durgā established by Śakambhari in her own name.¹³⁵

Śalakaṭaṅkaṭa devī : The temple of this Goddess¹³⁶ is situated to the south of Sāvitrī and to the east of Raivata in Prabhāsa.

Sāmbatīrtha : This is a reservoir near Kālindīsara in Dvārakā. The performance of śrāddha here is highly auspicious.¹³⁷

Sāmbāditya : The temple of Sāmbāditya¹³⁸ is situated in Prabhāsa. It is also known as Mitravana, and Muṇḍīra. It stands to the north of Narāditya.¹³⁹ It is narrated in the Sk. P. that

130. Sk. Pra. 222.1

131. Sk. Pra. 95. 1-3

132. Sk. Pra. 74. 1-3

133. Sk. Pra. 74. 6-9

134. Tasyaiva deva devasya kṣetrotpattiṁ śṛṇu priye/
Aṣṭādaśa dhanur devī samantāt parimaṇḍalam/
Mahāpāpaharam devī tatra kṣetranivāsinām//

Sk. Pra. 74. 12-13

135. Sk. Nag. 275. 2-3

136. Tato gacchen mahādevī devīm śalakaṭaṅkaṭām/
Sāvitrīyā dakṣiṇe bhāge raivatāt pūrvataḥ sthitām//

Sk. Pra. 168. 1

137. Sk. Pra. Dvā. 16. 19-20.

138. Sk. Pra. 100.3.

139. Sk. Pra. 306. 1-2.

Sāmba, the son of Jāmbavatī being cursed by his father worshipped the God Viṣṇu. After a long time the God was pleased with him and advised him to go to Prabhāsa kṣetra where he would appear in the form of Sun. Accordingly he went there and the God worshipped by him came to be known as Sāmbāditya, and by the grace of the God he obtained a beautiful body¹⁴⁰.

Śambhukunḍeśvara : This holy place is situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī in Prabhāsa kṣetra.¹⁴¹

Sambatteśvara : The temple of Sambatteśvara is located¹⁴² to the west of Indreśvara and east of Arkabhāskara in Prabhāsa kṣetra. The location of Puṣkariṇī is near to this tīrtha.

Śanaiścareśvara : The temple of this phallus stands to the west of Budheśvara¹⁴³ and south-east of Ajādevī, at a distance of five Dhanuṣas from it. It is also known as Saurīśvara Śiva¹⁴⁴.

Śaṇḍatīrtha : The Sk. P.¹⁴⁵ narrates that once the God Śiva chopped off one of the five heads of Brahmā. Since this head was in his hand, the body of the God Śiva and of the bull as well began to be black. He made a pilgrimage to many tīrthas but the blackness could not disappear. Eventually he went to Prabhāsa kṣetra and there he found the holy river Sarasvatī flowing to the west. This Bull entered into the water and became white entirely. And the head (Kapāla) also fell down from his hand. Now the God got rid of the sin. As the head fell down there it became a liṅga, which came to be known as Kapālamocana and as the Bull became white it became famous by the name of Śaṇḍatīrtha.

140. Sk. Pra. 306 1-28

141. Sk. Pra. 35. 51

142. Tato gacchen mahādevi saṁvatteśvaram uttamam/
Indreśvarāt paścimataḥ pūrvataścārkabhāskarāt//
Tam dr̥ṣṭvā, tu mahādevaṁ snātvā puṣkariṇī jale/
Daśānām aśvamedhānām phalam āpnoti mānavaḥ//
Sk. Pra. 364. 1-2

143. Tasmāc chukreśvarād gacched devi liṅgam
mahāprabham/
Śanaiścaraiśvaraṁ nāma mahāpātaka nāśanam//
Budheśvarāt paścimato hyajā devyagni gocare/
Tasyā dhanuḥ pañcakeṇa nāti dūre vyavasthitam//
Sk. Pra. 49. 1-2

144. Sk. Pra. 49.6

145. Sk. Pra. 273, 1-13

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Śaṇḍīleśvara : The Brahmarṣi Śaṇḍilya¹⁴⁶ observed austere asceticism in Prabhāsa establishing a great phallus to the north of the Someśa tīrtha and to the west of Brahmatīrtha at a distance of sixteen Dhanuṣas.

Sanḡāleśvara : This holy place is located at a distance¹⁴⁷ of one Gavyūti (four miles), to the west of Rṣitoyā in Prabhāsa kṣetra. So many tīrthas such as Guptaprayāga, Jāhnavī, Yamunā etc. are said to reside here.

Śaṇḍilyavāpi : This reservoir is situated to the north-east of Nārāyaṇa tīrtha in Prabhāsa kṣetra. A bath in this shrine by a woman on Rṣipaṇcamī specially has been greatly praised in the Sk. P.¹⁴⁸.

Śaṅkarāditya : The God Śiva himself established an image of God Sun to the east of Gaṅgeśvara in Prabhāsa, which came to be known as Śaṅkarāditya¹⁴⁹.

Śaṅkaranātha : This phallus was established by the Sun who practiced severe penance here in the Prabhāsa kṣetra¹⁵⁰.

Śaṅkhatīrtha : This sacred place is situated in Hātakeśvara. The king of Ānartadeśa, named Camatkāra had reached there pursuing a deer in the forest.¹⁵¹

Sapta kuṇḍa : The Sk. P. mentions that Sanaka and others (seven in number) the sons of Brahmā offered water in the name of the Goddess Lakṣmī with an eye to worshipping her. The water offered came to be known as Lakṣmī-hrada. This shrine is known as Rukmiṇīhrada and Bhṛgūtīrtha also¹⁵². It is located on the Raivata mountain in Saurāṣṭra¹⁵³.

146. Sk. Pra. 126. 1-4

147. Rṣitoyā paścime tu tatra gavyūti mātrataḥ/
Saṅgaleśvara nāmāsti sarvapātaka nāśanaḥ//
Guptas tatra prayāgaśca devo vai mādhavastathā/
Jāhnavī yamunā caiva devī tatra sarasvatī//
Sk. Pra. 298. 1-2

148. Sk. Pra. 358 1-2

149. Tato gacchen mahādevi śaṅkarādityam uttamam/
Gaṅgeśvarasya pūrveṇa śaṅkareṇa pratiṣṭhitam//
Sk. Pra. 251.1

150. Sk. Pra. 252. 1-2

151. Sk. Nag. 10. 1-24

152. Sk. Pra. Dvā. 9. 4-6

153. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 6. 8.

Saptarṣi āśrama : The hermitage of the Seven sages is placed in Hātakeśvara¹⁵⁴.

Saptaviṃśatikāṭṛtha : As to the origin of this shrine it is said that the twenty-seven daughters of Dakṣa were married to the Moon. These twenty-seven Nakṣatras established this shrine in Hātakeśvara¹⁵⁵.

Sarasvatī tīrtha : It is situated¹⁵⁶ in Hātakeśvara kṣetra. A bath in this shrine makes one a great speaker, even though he is quite dumb. The Sarasvatī tīrtha referred to by Dr. Kane¹⁵⁷ is, however, not identical with it.

Śaśāpāna tīrtha : This reservoir is located to the south of Tritakūpa in Prabhāsakṣetra¹⁵⁸.

Satyabhāmeśvara : The temple of Satyabhāmeśvara is placed to the south of Ratneśvara at a distance of one Dhanuṣa only. It was established by Satyabhāmā, the wife of Kṛṣṇa¹⁵⁹.

Saubhāgyakūpikā : It is this reservoir in which the Cupid (Kāmadeva) took a bath and got rid of leprosy¹⁶⁰. It is situated in Hātakeśvara (q. v.).

Saubhāgyeśvarī : This is the temple of Goddess Gaurī, situated at a distance of five Dhanuṣas to the west of Rāvaṇeśa in Prabhāsa kṣetra. The legend goes that Arundhatī had observed severe penance here and attained accomplishment by the grace of the Goddess, Gaurī¹⁶¹.

Saurāṣṭra : According to the Sk. P. Saurāṣṭra¹⁶² is situated in the south-west corner of India. It has been divided into nine parts among which one is the Prabhāsa kṣetra. The Prabhāsa kṣetra is extended over one hundred miles. The Sk. P.¹⁶³ reads it as Saurāṣṭra deśa also. It comprises the holy river Sarasvatī,

154. Sk. Nag. 32. 1-2.

155. Sk. Nag. 86. 1-2 ff.

156. Tatra sārāsvataṁ tīrtham anyad asti suśobhanam /
Yatra snāto' timūko' pi bhaved vākyavicaḥṣaṇaḥ //
Sk. Nag. 46.2.

157. Hist. Dhs. IV. 802.

158. Sk. Pra. 258. 1.

159. Sk. Pra. 157. 1-2.

160. Sk. Nag. 133. 54-55.

161. Sk. Pra. 124. 1-3.

162. Sk. Pra. 11. 37-39.

163. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 16. 82-84.

Gomatī, Gandhamādhana mountain, Ujjayantagiri, Raivatakagiri, and Vastrāpatha kṣetra etc. The name of Dharma Varmā is referred to as the king of this country known as Saurāṣṭra-Viṣaya¹⁶⁴. It is separated from Kaccha in the Sk. P. and it is said that Saurāṣṭra consisted of fifty-five thousand villages¹⁶⁵. The great scholars like Cunningham¹⁶⁶, Mr. Dey¹⁶⁷ and Dr. Law¹⁶⁸ have referred to it. Rājaśekhara, the author of the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā has located Saurāṣṭra in the western division including Bhṛgukaccha, Ānarta, Arbuda and other countries. However, Dr. Law¹⁶⁹ observes that Saurāṣṭra consists of modern Kathiawad and other portions of Gujarat. Mr. Dey¹⁷⁰ opines that it includes the country from Sindh or the Indus to Barauch i. e. Gujarat, Cutch, Kathiawad

Sarasvatī : The holy river Sarasvatī flows in the Prabhāsa-kṣetra¹⁷¹ with its five tributaries. There are innumerable tīrthas on the bank of this sacred river.¹⁷²

Siddhakṣetra : This is a place of pilgrimage situated to the east of Kapilātīrtha in Hāṭakeśvara. The place is so called because thousand of people attained siddhi here.¹⁷³

Siddheśvara : This shrine is located on the mount Raivata in Prabhāsa kṣetra.¹⁷⁴

Śītaladevī : This is the temple of the Goddess Śītalā in Prabhāsa kṣetra. It is also known as Duḥkhāntakāriṇī. In the age of Kali it is called Kaliduḥkhāntakāriṇī. It makes children free from all diseases.¹⁷⁵

164. Sk. Mā. Kau. 4. 15-16.

165. Caturdaśa śate dve ca vimśatiḥ kacchamaṇḍalam /
Pañcapanāśat sāhasraṁ grāmaḥ saurāṣṭram ucyate //
Sk. Mā. Kau. 39. 145.

166. Anc. Geog. 363, 371.

167. Geog. Dic. 183.

168. Hist. Geog. 297-298, 305.

169. Ibid.

170. Geog. Dic. 183.

171. Sk. Pra. 365.1-10

172. Sk. Pra. 35. 21-107

173. Kapilāyāśca pūrveṇa siddhakṣetram prakīrtitam/
Yatra siddhim gatāḥ siddhāḥ purā śatasahasraśaḥ//

174. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 6.1-10
175. Sk. Pra. 135.1-2
Sk. Nag. 52.7

Somanātha : The famous temple of God Śiva known as Somanātha is situated in Prabhāsa kṣetra on the shore of the sea¹⁷⁶ near the Mahīśāgarasaṅgama¹⁷⁷ (q. v.). The Avantikhaṇḍa ascertains the location of Somanātha in Saurāṣṭra.¹⁷⁸

Someśvara : Same as Somanātha. see Prabhāsa also.

Śṛṅgāreśvara : The same occurs in connection with the description about a pilgrimage to Śṛṅgasara. The temple of Śṛṅgāreśvara stands on the bank of the reservoir.¹⁷⁹

Śṛṅgasara : Vide Śṛṅgeśvara.

Śṛṅgeśvara : The temple of God Śṛṅgeśvara is situated near the Śukasthāna in Prabhāsa kṣetra. It is said to be the remover of all sins.¹⁸⁰

Śūdryākhyā or *Śūdrīlīṅga* : It is one of the two phalli which are said to be very important in Hāṭakeśvara kṣetra. They are Brāhmaṇī līṅga and Śūdrīlīṅga.¹⁸¹

Sukanyāsara : It is located near Cyavaneśvara in Prabhāsa.¹⁸²

Śukreśvara : This is the phallus of Śiva established by the planet Venus. It is situated to the west of Vibhūtīśvara in Prabhāsa kṣetra.¹⁸³

Śūlasthāna : Vide Mūlasthāna.

Suparṇelā Bhairavī : The temple of this Goddess is situated at a distance of five Dhanuṣas to the south of Durgakūṭa in Prabhāsa kṣetra.¹⁸⁴

176. Bhārate tu mahātejas tiṣṭhaty udadhi sannidhau/
Devaḥ someśvaro nāma sarvadeva namaskṛtaḥ//

Sk. Pra. 24.181

177. Sk. Mā. Kau. 48.1-29

178. Saurāṣṭra Somanāthasya pūjāyāḥ pratyaham phalam/
Sk. Ava. A. Kṣe. 28.102

179. Sk. Pra. 369.1-2

180. Sk. Pra. 356.1

181. Sk. Nag. 198.101-102

182. Sk. Pra. 284.1-3

183. Tato gacchen mahādevi līṅgaṁ śukrapraṭiṣṭhitam/
Sarvapāpaharaṁ devi vibhūtīśvara paścime//

Nātidūre sthitam tatra svayaṁ śukreṇa nirmitam//

Sk. Pra. 48.1-2

184. Tato gacchen mahādevi suparṇelāṁ ca bhairavīm/
Durgakūṭād dakṣiṇato dhanuḥ pañcaśatāntare//

Sk. Pra. 351.1

Surāṣṭradeśa : Same as Saurāṣṭra (q. v.)

Sūryapracī : This is a reservoir in Prabhāsa kṣetra. A bath in this shrine destroys the five kinds of sins¹⁸⁵.

Svargadvāra : The holy place Dvārakā (q.v.) is known as Svargadvāra also¹⁸⁶.

Svarṇarekhā : The sacred river Svarṇarekhā is situated in Vastrāpatha kṣetra on Raivatakagiri which stands in Saurāṣṭradeśa (q.v.). It is situated to the north-east of the city of Vastrāpatha¹⁸⁷. The temple of Kālamegha is located on the bank of this holy river. A pilgrimage to Dāmodara, Raivataka and Svarṇarekhānadī has been highly praised in the Sk. P.¹⁸⁸. Dr Kane¹⁸⁹ has rightly located this river in Vastrāpatha which has been identified with modern Girnar and the surrounding territory.

Śvetaketviśvara : As to the origin of this shrine it is said that in Tretāyuga there was a king named Śvetaketu, who went to Prabhāsa and performed severe asceticism on the sea shore establishing a phallus of Śiva there. Eventually the phallus worshipped by him came to be known as Śvetaketviśvara. It is also known as Bhīmeśvara in Kaliyuga, as Bhīma had also worshipped while he made a pilgrimage to Prabhāsa¹⁹⁰.

Tāpīnadī : Regarding the source of this river the Sk. P.¹⁹¹ is very clear and says that this holy river takes its rise from the root of the Vindhya mountain and empties herself into the western sea. Mr Dey¹⁹² identifies it with the river Tāpti rising from the Vindhya-pāda mountain (which is now called the Satpurā range) at the portion known as Gonanagiri, and falling into the Arabian

185. Sk. Pra. 274.1-2

186. Sk. Bra. Dh. Kh. 26.1-2

187. Ājāgama tapastaptaṁ svarṇarekhā nadītaṭe/
Īśānakoṇe nagarāt svarṇarekhā nadījale//

Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 14.2

188. Dāmodare raivatake svarṇarekhānadījale/
Evam yaḥ kurute yātrām tasya puṇyaphalaṁ śṛṇu//

Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 15.63

189. Hist. Dhs. IV. 811

190. Sk. Pra. 40 1-16

191. Tāpīnāma nadī ce'yaṁ vindhyamūlād viniḥsritā/
Nityaṁ puṇyajalā snāne paścimodadhi gāmini//

192. Geog. Dic. 204

sea. He further adds that Surat is situated on the bank of this river. Dr. Kane¹⁹³ is also inclined to hold this view. Dr Law¹⁹⁴ refers to it and identifies it very strongly with the river Tāptī, but he commits mistakes when he remarks that the river Tāptī does not take its rise in the Vindhya, which has been said very authoritatively in the Sk. P. So according to the Sk. P. it is evident that this river rises from the Vindhya and flows into the Arabian sea, which was known as the western sea in olden times.

Trinetreśvara : The temple of the God Trinetreśvara stands on the northern bank of Nyañkumatī river, near the Ṛṣitīrtha. It was worshipped by the sages in the past. It is situated in Prabhāsa kṣetra¹⁹⁵.

Tripuralīngatraya : The three liṅgas namely Vidyunmālī, Tarakā and Kapolā are known as Tripuralīngatraya¹⁹⁶.

Tripurāntakaliṅga : It is situated in Saurāṣṭra¹⁹⁷.

Tripurī : According to the Nāgarakhaṇḍa the three holy places—Vārāṇasī, Dvārakā and Avantī are known as Tripurī¹⁹⁸

Trisaṅgama : The confluence of the holy river Sarasvatī and Hiraṇyā with the sea is called Trisaṅgama.¹⁹⁹ It is said that all the tīrthas come here as it is very auspicious. This sacred place stands between the Mañkeśvara tīrtha and Kṛtasmaratīrtha in Prabhāsa kṣetra.²⁰⁰

193. Hist. Dhs. IV. 812

194. Hist. Geog. 330-331

195. Tato gacchen mahādevi devaṁ daivatrilocanam/
Ṛṣitīrthasamīpe tu sarvapātakanāśanam/
Nyañkumatyuttare kūlam ṛṣibhiḥ pūjitaṁ purā//
Sk. Pra. 275.1

196. Sk. Pra. 272.1-2

197. Saurāṣṭre ca tathā liṅgaṁ koṭīśaṅkameva ca/
Tripurāntakaṁ bhīmeśam amareśvaram eva ca//
Sk. Mā. Ke. 7.34

198. Vārāṇasī purītyekā dvitīya dvārakāpurī/
Avantīākhyā tṛtīyā ca viśrutā bhuvanatrāye/
Etāsu yo naraḥ snāti caturvīmśati bhāg bhavet//
Sk. Nag. 199.15-16

199. Sk. Pra. 183.2

200. Sk. Pra. 183.5.

Tritakūpa : This reservoir is located at a distance of three yojanas (24 miles) to the east of Nandāditya in Prabhāsa kṣetra.²⁰¹ Dr. Kane²⁰² also refers to it but without definitely locating it anywhere.

Tṛṇabindvīśvara : The temple of Lord Śiva known as Tṛṇabindvīśvara²⁰³ is located to the west of Kaṅkālābhairava, at a distance of five Dhanuṣas. According to the Sk. P. the great sage Tṛṇabindu performed asceticism taking only the drops of water through the Kuśāgrass. Having performed penance in this way for several years he attained accomplishment in Prabhāsa kṣetra.

Tryambakakṣetra : According to the Sk. P.²⁰⁴ this sacred place is situated on the bank of the Godāvarī. Mr. Dey²⁰⁵ refers to it and remarks that it is a celebrated place of pilgrimage and is situated at a distance of twenty miles from Nāsik.

Tryambakeśvara : This shrine is situated at a distance of sixteen Dhanuṣas (28 yards) to the north-east of Kapāleśvara tīrtha in Prabhāsa kṣetra. In Tretā yuga it is known as Śikhaṇḍīśvara. This is the fifth Rudra.²⁰⁶ Dr. Kane²⁰⁷ refers to one Tryambakeśvara which is not identical with it.

Tuṇḍapura : This is place of pilgrimage situated on the bank of the river Hiranyā in Prabhāsa kṣetra. It contains the reservoir

201. Tato gacchen mahādevi tritakūpamiti smṛtam/
Nandādityasya pūrveṇa yojanātritayena tu//
Sk. Pra. 257.1

202. Hist. Dhs. IV. 814.

203. Tasyaiva paścime bhāge dhanuṣām pañcake sthitam/
Tṛṇabindvīśvaram nāma tīvrabhaktyā pratiṣṭhitam//
Kṛtvā mahattapo devī tṛṇabindur munīśvaraḥ/
Māsi māsi kuśāgreṇa jalabindum nipīya vai//
Samvatsarāṇyekāni evam ārādhya ceśvaram/
Samprāptaḥ paramām siddhim kṣetre prābhāsike śubhe//
Sk. Pra. 138.1-3.

204. Anugodāvarī tīram tryambakam nāma te śrutam/
Śaktim yatra guho lebhe tārakāsuraghātīnīm//
Sk. Mā. Ac. L. U. 2.74

205. Geog. Dic. 207.

206. Sk. Pra. 91.1-5.

207. Hist. Dhs. IV. 814.

known as Ghargharāhṛada and the temple of God Śiva called Kaṇḍeśvara.²⁰⁸

Udayantagiri : According to the Sk. P.²⁰⁹ the mountain known as Udayantagiri is situated near Somanātha. The western part of this mountain is called Raivataka (q. v.). It is also known as Ujjayanta²¹⁰. It is mentioned as the brother of Maināka mt. The Prabhāsa khaṇḍa states that this mountain is situated in Saurāṣṭradeśa. Dr. Kane²¹¹ has rightly placed it near Somanātha in Kathiavar.

Ujjainīpūṭha : According to the Sk. P.²¹² it is situated in Hātakeśvara, where the God Mahākāla resides (see Mahākāla also in this section).

Ujjayantagiri : The text²¹³ indicates that this mountain is identical with Udayantagiri which is placed in Saurāṣṭra deśa. Dr. Kane²¹⁴ is inclined to identify this mountain with Girnar in Saurāṣṭra and near Dvārakā.

Unnatasthāna : This is a place of pilgrimage situated to the north of Brahmeśvara on the bank of the holy river, Ṛṣitoyā in Prabhāsa kṣetra²¹⁵.

Unnatasvāmī : This is the temple of Gaṇeśa. It is situated on the bank of the river Ṛṣitoyā. It is the remover of all troubles.²¹⁶

208. Tato gaccen mahādevi hiranyātata saṁsthitam/
Sthānam uṇḍpuram nāma yatrāsau ghargharohradah/
Tatra Kaṇḍeśvaro devo yatra baddhā jaṭā mayā//
Sk. Pra. 363.1-2.
209. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 168
210. Ujjayantaṁ girivaram mainākasya sahodaram/
Surāṣṭradeśe vikhyātam yugāḍau prathamam sthitam//
Sk. Pra. V. Kse. 16.19-20
211. Hist. Dhs. IV. 814.
212. Sk. Pra. 53. 1-3
213. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 16.19-20
214. Hist. Dhs. IV. 815
215. Tato gacchen mahābhāge hyunnatasthānam uttamam/
Tasyaivottaradigbhāge ṛṣitoyātaṭe śubhe//
Sk. Pra. 319.1
216. Tato gacchen mahādevi vināyakam anuttamam/
Ṛṣitoyā taṭe ramye sarvavighnanivāraṇam//
Sk. Pra. 325.1

Uṣeśvara : This is a temple of Lord Śiva, called Uṣeśvara.²¹⁷ It is situated at a distance of three Dhanuṣas to the south of Varuṇeśatīrtha in Prabhāsa. The Sk. P. refers that Uṣā, the wife of Varuṇa observed severe penance here establishing a phallus of God Śiva and obtained siddhi. Hence this phallus came to be known as Uṣeśvara.

Uttankeśvara : This sacred place is situated to the south of Lakuleśvara not far from it. It was established by Uttan̄ka himself.²¹⁸

Uttarārka : This is the temple of God Sun. It is situated at a distance of sixteen Dhanuṣas (28 yards) to the north west of Bakula Svāmī in Prabhāsa.²¹⁹

Vādaveśvara : This is the phallus of God Śiva known as Vādaveśvara.²²⁰ It was established by Vādava. It is situated to the north of Lakṣmīśa and to the south of Viśālākṣī in Prabhāsakṣetra.

Vṛṣabheśvara : This is the fourth Rudra situated in Prabhāsa kṣetra. It is also known as Brahmeśvara.²²¹

Vaiśvānareśvara : This sacred place is situated at a distance of five Dhanuṣas to the south-east of Uttan̄keśvara in Prabhāsa.²²² Dr. Kane²²³ locates it under Śrīparvata.

Vainateyeśvara or *Garuḍeśvara* : It is located to the north of Ratneśvara at a distance of three Dhanuṣas.²²⁴

Vaivaśvateśvara : This phallus was established by Vaivaśvata Manu.²²⁵ There stands a reservoir known as Devakhāta near this phallus. It is situated at a distance of thirty Dhanuṣas to the south of the Goddess Sālakataṇkaṭā.

217. Sk. Pra. 71.1-3

218. Sk. Pra. 77.1

219. Sk. Pra. 313.1

220. Tato gacchen mahādevi liṅgam vai vādaveśvaram/
Lakṣmīśād uttare bhāge viśālākṣyāśca dakṣiṇe/
sthitam mahāprabhāvam hi vādavena pratiṣṭhitam//
Sk. Pra. 65. 1-2.

221. Sk. Pra. 90.1-16

222. Sk. Pra. 78.1

223. Hist Dhs. IV. 817

224. Tato gacchen mahādevi vainateya pratiṣṭhitam/
Ratneśvarād uttarato dhanuṣāmtritaye sthitam//

225. Sk. Pra. 169.1-2 Sk. Pra. 156.1

Vajrinī : This is one of the five tributaries of the holy river Sarasvatī. It flows through the Prabhāsa kṣetra.²²⁶

Vajreśvara : The temple of Vajreśvara stands in Yādavasthala²²⁷, where the fifty-six crores of Yādavas were destroyed.

Valakhilyakuṇḍa : It is a reservoir in Hātakeśvara. There stands a phallus of Śiva on the bank of this shrine²²⁸.

Valakhilyalinga : This is a phallus of Lord Śiva. It stands at Valakhilya kuṇḍa in Hātakeśvara²²⁹.

Vāmananagara : According to the Sk. p.²³⁰ it is situated in Vastrāpatha kṣetra. The sage Vaśiṣṭha resided in this village. From this place he went to the river Svarṇarekhā to observe asceticism. The river Svarṇarekhā stands to the north-east of this place. It may be identified with Vanthali about eight miles south-west of Junagaḍ, which is said to be the Vāmanatīrtha of the Mahābhārata²³¹. Dr Kane²³² locates it under Kurukṣetra and two other places also. But they are not identical with that of the Sk. p.

Vāmanasvāmī : This is a place of pilgrimage²³³ situated at a distance of twenty Dhanuṣas (35 yards) to the south-west of Puṣkaratīrtha in Prabhāsa kṣetra. It is this place where Viṣṇu put his

226. Sk. Pra. 365.1-10

227. Tato gacchen mahādevi yādavasthalam uttamam /
yādavā yatra naṣṭā vai śatpañcāśacca koṭayah //
Yatra vajreśvaro devo vajreṇārādhitah sadā /
Yatrā' bhūd divya dṛṣṭiṇām ṛṣīnām āśramam kulam //
Sk. Pra. 237. 1-2

228. Sk. Nag. 79. 1-50

229. Ibid.

230. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 14. 1-2

231. Hist. Dhs. IV. 817

232. Ibid.

233. Tato gacchen mahādevi Viṣṇum pāpaprāṇāśanam /
Vāmanasvāmī nāmānam sarvapātakanāśanam //
Puṣkarān nairṛte bhāge dhanurviṃśatibhiḥ smṛtam /
Yadā baddho balir devi viṣṇunā prabhaviṣṇunā //
Tadā tatra padam nyastam dakṣiṇam viśvarūpiṇā /
Dvitiyam meruśṛṅge tu tṛtīyam gagane priye //
Yāvadūrdhvam cotkṣipati tāvad bhinnam sudūrataḥ /
Pādāgreṇa tu brahmāṇḍam niṣkrāntam salilam tataḥ //
Tataḥ svajānu mātrena samprāptam pṛthivī taṭe /
Tato viṣṇupadī gaṅgā prasiddhim agamat kṣitau //
Sk. Pra. 114. 1-5

right leg as the first step when the king Bali was seized by him. He kept his second step on the Meruśṛṅga and the third in the sky.

Vanatraya : The three forests²³⁴, namely Vṛndāvana, Khāṇḍavavana and Dvaitavana are collectively known as Vanatraya.

Varāha tīrtha: This sacred place is situated to the south of Goṣṭhapatīrtha²³⁵ in Prabhāsa. The Varāhatīrtha referred to by Dr Kane²³⁶ is, however, not identical with it.

Varuṇapadatīrtha : This is a reservoir built by Varuṇa²³⁷ himself in Dvārakakṣetra.

Varuṇeśvara: This is a place of pilgrimage²³⁸ situated at a distance of twenty Dhanuṣas (35 yards) to the south-east of Gaurītapovana in Prabhāsa. It was established by Varuṇa himself.

Vastrāpathakṣetra : It is a renowned place of pilgrimage in Saurāṣṭra. According to the Sk. P.²³⁹ this kṣetra is known as Kṣetragarbha in Prabhāsa. There are so many tīrthas in this kṣetra-²⁴⁰ the Raivatakagiri, Svarṇarekhānadi, Mṛgīkuṇḍa, God Dāmodara etc. are found in this part. The text explains that there are crores of holy places in Vastrāpatha.²⁴¹ As to the origin²⁴² of

234. Vṛndāvanam vanam caikam dvitīyam khāṇḍavanam vanam/
Khyātam dvaitavanam cā'nyat tṛtīyam dharaṇītale //
Sk. Nag. 199. 17

235. Tato gacchen mahādevi varāham tatra samsthitam /
Goṣṭhpadād dakṣiṇe bhāge sthitam pāpaprāṇāśanam //
Sk. Pra. 262. 1

236. Hist. Dhs. IV. 818

237. Sk. Pra. Dvā. 14 38-39

238. Tato gacchen mahādevi varuṇeśvaram uttamam /
Gaurī tapovanā' gneyyām dhanuṣām viṃśatau sthitam /
Līngam mahāprabhāvam hi varuṇena pratiṣṭhitam //
Sk. Pra. 70. 1

239. Atra te sampravakṣyāmi kṣetragarbham mahodayam/
Tad vastrāpathamāhātmyam yatra raivatako giriḥ //
Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 1.1.

240. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 1.1-67.

241. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe 3.1.

242. Vastrāpathasya kṣetrasya pramāṇam śṛṇu bhūpate/
Harasya tyajato bhāmau patitam vastrabhūṣaṇam //
Tāvan mātṛam smṛtam kṣetram devair vastrāpatham
kṛtam/

Uttareṇa nadī bhadra purvasyām yojanadvayam //
Dakṣiṇena baleḥ sthānam ujjayanto nadīmanu/
Aparasyām param nadyoḥ saṅgamam vāmanāt purāt //
Etad vastrāpatham kṣetram bhuktimukti-pradāyakam/
Kṣetrasya vistaro jñeyo yojanānām catuṣṭayam //
Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 11. 13-16

this kṣetra it is stated that while abandoning this earth, the clothes of Hara (i.e. Śiva) fell down on the ground, and the whole place in which the clothes fell came to be known as Vastrāpatha. To north of this place stands the river Bhadrā extending sixteen miles in the east. The place of Bali exists to the south and the mountain Ujjayanta till the existence of the river. In the west lies the confluence of the river from Vāmanapura. The extent of this place is thirty-two miles.²⁴³ Again it is five gavyūtis in extent.²⁴⁴ Dr. Kane²⁴⁵ identifies it with the territory round about Girnar in Kathiawar. He adds that it is the quintessence of Prabhāsa. Here he refers to the Sk. P. and mentions as recorded there in.

Vasunandaditīrtha : This is a place of pilgrimage²⁴⁶ situated to the south of Arkasthala not far from it.

Vicitreśvara : This shrine²⁴⁷ is situated at a distance of ten Dhanuṣas to the south-east of Citreśvara in Prabhāsa. It was established by Vicitra, the scribe of the God of death. He performed severe penance here.

Vidurāśrama : The hermitage of Vidura in the place where Vidura established a phallus of God Śiva and observed austere asceticism in Prabhāsa.²⁴⁸

Vimaleśvara : This sacred place²⁴⁹ is located to the east of the temple of Gaurī and to the south-west of Guru in Prabhāsa. Dr. Kane²⁵⁰ locates it under Sarasvatī and Narmadā.

Viṣṇukunḍa : This reservoir is situated near the Mādhava tīrtha in Prabhāsa. The beautiful image of the God Viṣṇu known as Mādhava stands on the bank of the shrine.²⁵¹

243. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 11.13-16

244. Pañca gavyūti mātraṁ tu tat kṣetraṁ samprakīrtitam//
Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 3.6

245. Hist. Dhs. IV. 819

246. Sk. Pra. 182.1

247. Tato gacchen mahādevi vicitreśvaram uttamam/
Tasyaiva pūrvadigbhāge kiñcidāgneya gocare//
Dhanuṣāṁ daśake tatra sthitam pāpaprāṇāśanam/
Vicitreṇa mahādevi lekhakena yamasya ca//
Sthāpitaṁ tan mahāliṅgaṁ tapaḥ kṛtvā suduścaram/
Sk. Pra. 143. 1-2

248. Sk. Pra. 269. 1-4

249. Sk. Pra. 55. 1-2

250. Hist. Dhs. IV. 821

251. Sk. Pra. 299. 3.

Viṣṇupadatīrtha : This is a holy place located in Hāṭakeśvara²⁵².

Viśvakarmēśvara : This phallus was established by Viśvakarma. It is situated at a distance of five Dhanuṣas to the north of Mokṣasvāmī.²⁵³

Vṛṣadhvajēśvara : The temple of God Śiva known as Vṛṣadhvajēśvara is situated to the south of Mārkaṇḍeyaśrama in Prabhāsa. To offer bulls here has been highly eulogised.²⁵⁴

Yādavasthala : This is a place²⁵⁵ of pilgrimage where fifty-six crores of Yādavas were ruined (see Vajreśvara also).

Yājñavalkyāśrama : It is this shrine where the sage Yājñavalkya had practised severe penance. It is a place of pilgrimage in Hāṭakeśvara²⁵⁶

Yājñavalkyēśvara : The sage Yājñavalkya established a phallus in this āśrama which came to be known as Yājñavalkyēśvara²⁵⁷.

Yājñavalkyāditya : An image of the Sun was established by the great sage Yājñavalkya in Camatkārapura. It came to be known as Yājñavalkyāditya²⁵⁸.

252. Sk. Nag. 24. 1-3

253. Tato gacchen mahādevi viśvakarma pratiṣṭhitam/
Liṅgam mahāprabhāvaṁ hi mokṣasvāmināḥ uttare/
Dhanuṣāṁ pañcake devi sthitam pātakanāśanam//
Sk. Pra. 192. 1-2

254. Tato gacchen mahādevi devaṁ trailokyapūjitaṁ/
Vṛṣadhvajēśvaraṁ nāma sthitam dakṣiṇatas tathā//
Vṛṣabhas tatra dātavyo vṛṣadhvaja sannidhau /
Sarvapātakanāśārthaṁ samyag yātrā phalepsubhiḥ//
Sk. Pra. 220. 1 and 13

255. Sk. Pra. 237. 1-2

256. Tathānyo' pi ca tatrāsti yājñavalkya samudbhavaḥ /
Āśramo loka vikhyāto mūrkhānām api siddhidaḥ /
Yatra taptā tapas tīvraṁ yājñavalkyena dhīmata/
Samprāptā nikhilā vedā guruṇā' pahr̥tāśca ye//
Sk. Nag. 129. 1-2

257. Sk. Nag. 175.16

258. Camatkārapure sūryo yājñavalkya pratiṣṭhitaḥ/
Asti vipra śruto' smābhiḥ sadyaḥ pratyayakāraḥ//
Sk. Nag. 157. 6

Yakṣādhipasara : This reservoir is situated in Dvārakā. It was established by the king of the Yakṣas²⁵⁹.

Yakṣavana : This is a place of pi'grimage situated in Vastrā-patha on the mount Raivataka²⁶⁰.

Yakṣeśvarī : This is also situated on Raivatakagiri²⁶¹.

Yameśvara : This shrine was established by the God of death in Prabhāsa. It is said that when Yama was cursed by his mother his leg fell down on the earth. Hence he observed a severe penance in the Prabhāsa kṣetra²⁶².

Yayātiṅga : The phallus established by the king Yayāti in Hātakeśvara is known as Yayātiṅga. It is situated to the north of Dhundhumāreśvara²⁶³.

Yogeśvara : This is a place of pilgrimage situated at a distance of seven Dhanuṣas (12 yards, 9 inches) to the north-west of Kāmeśatīrtha in Prabhāsa. It is also known as Gaṇeśvara tīrtha²⁶⁴.

Yogeśvarī : The temple of the Goddess²⁶⁵ known as Yogeśvarī is situated to the east of Cakratīrtha in Prabhāsa kṣetra. This is said to be the giver of accomplishment (siddhi).

259. Sk. Pra. Dvā. 14.42

260. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 6.3

261. Sk. Pra. V. Kṣe. 6.4

262. Tasyānvavāye jātastu śaṅkha-cakra-gadādharaḥ/
Yamastu mātṛā samśapto hīnapādo dharātale//
Prabhāsa kṣetram āsādyā cacāra vipulam tapah/
Varṣāṇām ayutam sāgram liṅgam pūjitavān priye//
Tuṣṭaś cāham tatas tasya varāṇām ca śatam dadau/
Adyāpi tatra deveśi yameśvaram iti śrutam/
Yamaditīyāyām dṛṣṭvā yamalokaṁ na paśyati//
Sk. Pra. 12. 5-7

263. Sk. Nag. 39 1

264. Tato gacchen mahādevi yogeśvaram iti śrutam/
Kāmeśād vāyave bhāge dhanuṣām saptake sthitam//
Liṅgam mahāprabhāvam hi darśanāt pāpanāśanam/
Pūrvayuge tu saṅkhyātām gaṇeśvaram iti śrutam//
Sk. Pra. 97. 1-2

265. Tato gacchen mahādevi tasya pūrveṇa samsthitam/
Yogeśvarīm mahādevīm yoga siddhi phalapradām//
Sk. Pra. 83.1

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute
Ag.	Agnipurāṇa
Ava	Āvāntyakhaṇḍa
Arb.	Arbudakhaṇḍa
A. C. M. U.	Aruṇācala Māhātmya Uttarakhaṇḍa
A. C. L. M.	Aruṇācala Liṅga Māhātmya
A. C. M. P.	do (Pūrvakhaṇḍa)
Ayo.	Ayodhyāmāhātmya
Anc. Geog.	Ancient Geography of India
B.	Brahma Purāṇa
B. M.	Badrikākṣetramāhātmya
Brm.	Brahmottarakhaṇḍa
B. S.	Bṛhat Saṁhitā
Bra.	Brahmakhaṇḍa
C. H. V. P.	Cultural History from Vāyu Purāṇa
Dva.	Dvārakāmāhātmya
Dh.	Dharmāraṇyakhaṇḍa
Geog. Dic.	The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India (1927)
Hist. Geog.	Historical Geography of ancient India
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary
I. H. Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly
Ind. Cult.	Indian Culture
J. G. R. I.	Journal of the Gaṅgānātha Jha Research Institute
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
Ka	Kāśī khaṇḍa
Kau	Kaumārī khaṇḍa
Kar	Kārtikamāhātmya
Ke	Kedārakhaṇḍa
K. M.	Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā
L.	Liṅga Mahāpurāṇa
M.	Matsya Purāṇa
Manus	Manusmṛti

Ma	Māheśvarakhaṇḍa
Mbh.	Mahābhārata
Mar	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa
Marg.	Mārgamāhātmya
Nag.	Nāgarakhaṇḍa
P.	Padmapurāṇa
Pra	Prabhāsakhaṇḍa; Prabhāsakṣetra Māhātmya
P. M.	Puruṣottama kṣetra māhātmya
Q. J. M. S.	Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society
Reva	Revākhaṇḍa
Rama.	Rāmāyaṇa
Sk.	Shanda Purāṇa
Setu	Setu Māhātmya
Sal	Śalya Parva of the Mahābhārata
Tirth.	Tīrthāṅka
T. V. P.	Translation of Viṣṇu Purāṇa
T. M. P.	Translation of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa
Vis.	Viṣṇu Purāṇa
Vay.	Vāyu Purāṇa
Vai	Vaiṣṇava khaṇḍa
Ven.	Venkatācala māhātmya
Vais	Vaiśākha māhātmya
V. Kse.	Vastrāpatha kṣetra māhātmya
Var.	Vārāha Purāṇa.

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PRAYĀGA AND ITS KUMBHA MELĀ*

By

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन पुराणेषूपलब्धानां प्रयाग-
माहात्म्यप्रसङ्गानां साङ्गोपाङ्गं विवेचनं कृतम् । अस्मिन् विषये,
'प्रयागमाहात्म्य' नाम्ना प्रकाशितानां केषांचिद् ग्रन्थानां, सम्पूर्णानन्द-
संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालये, नागरी प्रचारिणीसभायां चोपलब्धानां केषाञ्चिद्
हस्तलेखानामपि समीक्षात्मकं विवरणं प्रदत्तम् । कृत्यकल्पतरौ,
त्रिस्थलीसेतौ, तीर्थचिन्तामणौ च प्रदत्तस्य प्रयागमाहात्म्यस्यापि लेखकेन
विवेचनं कृतम् । अत्र विवधे कुम्भपर्व महोत्सवस्यो उद्भवस्य इतिहासस्य
च विवेचनमपि प्रस्तुतम् ।

Introduction

A big gathering of people and religious fair (melā) takes place every year in the month of Māgha (Jan.-Feb.) at Allahabad or Prayāga at the confluence of the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā. There, at the exact point where the two streams of different colour mix their waters and a third river, the Sarasvatī, joins them in the depth of the earth, according to Hindu tradition¹, millions of people perform their religious rites of purification (Māghasnāna). These three streams (=Trivenī), though having different qualities or characteristics when they flow separately², have a powerful effect in relation to mokṣa, once they join :

यत्र गङ्गा च यमुना यत्र चैव सरस्वती ।

तत्र स्नात्वा च पीत्वा च मुक्तिभागी न संशयः ॥

Padma P. Utt. kh. (ASS) 23.14

* I am grateful to Pt. Hirāmaṇi Miśra of the All-India Kāshirāj Trust for his learned and enlightening help, specially at the beginning of my research. The Table No. 3 is due partly to him. The translation of the śloka-s sometimes is not literal.

1. गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये यत्र गुप्ता सरस्वती ।

प्रयागः स तु विज्ञेयः सर्वपापप्रणाशनः ॥

Avantī kh. (Mor ed.) II. 71.62

2. सरस्वतीरजोरूपा तमोरूपा कलिन्दजा ।

सत्वरूपा च गङ्गात्र नयन्ति ब्रह्मनिर्गुणम् ॥ (Kāśī kh. 7.64)

॥

सितासितेषु यत् स्नानं माघमासे युधिष्ठिर ।
न तेषां पुनरावृत्तिः कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥

Matsya P. 107.7³

“If one bathes and drinks water where there are the Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī enjoys mukti; there is no doubt.

O Yudhiṣṭhira, there will be no rebirth, even in hundred of crores of kalpa-s, for those who bathe in the bright and dark waters (i. e. Gaṅgā and Yamunā) in the month of Māgha.”

The sacred place is not restricted, of course, to the mere topographical junction of the rivers, but it extends to their banks as well and to the town itself, so that the whole of Prayāga is considered a tīrtha, normally known as ‘Tīrtharāja’ (king of the tīrtha-s). The Māghasnāna at Prayāga is particularly momentous every twelve years, when it gets the name of Kumbha Parvan or Sādhu melā because on that occasion a huge number of sādhu-s gather from all over India for a sacred dip in the saṅgam or Trivenī. These pages are written to commemorate such an event which takes place this year (1977) from 5th of January to 4th of February.

The main authority for all the acts that will be performed at Prayāga in the month of Māgha during the Kumbha melā are the Purāṇa-s; I shall therefore examine what they say regarding both Prayāga and Māghasnāna. Unfortunately the Purāṇa-s never mention the Kumbha Parvan, for which therefore we are compelled to refer to other sources. For the sake of simplicity I shall put the topics of Prayāga and Māghasnāna together but pre-eminence will be given to Prayāga. If we study Māghasnāna separately in fact we would have to repeat matters already discussed under Prayāga and moreover we would get involved in a large range of subjects not connected with our main topic, which is Prayāga and the Kumbha melā.

3. See also:

वेणीदर्शनमात्रेण जायन्ते सुखिनो नराः ।

भूतप्रेतपिशाचा वा वेणीपानीय बिन्दुभिः ॥30॥

स्पृष्टमात्रा विमुच्यन्ते दिव्यदेहधरा नृप ।

स्वर्गलोकं प्रयान्त्येव निष्पापाः शुद्धमानसाः ॥31॥

cf. *Tristhaltsetu* p. 35 and *Prayāga Mahātmya Śatādhyāya* 34, 10 etc.

The first part of this study will be devoted to Prayāga and the praises of it in the Purāṇa-s and other texts. The second one will be centred on the Kumbha melā, of which I shall try to give a quick history, according to the sources we possess. The third one, at last, will have a more devotional character and will constitute a pilgrim-guide to the holy city.

1. Prayāga Māhātmya-s and Purāṇa-s

The description and praises of Prayāga, as those of other tīrtha-s, are usually found in special Purāṇic chapters called 'Māhātmya-s'⁴; but the Purāṇa-s are not the only source for knowing the greatness of Prayāga. Many booklets indeed, mainly for pilgrims, have been written to guide the devotee in his journey to the holy city. Some of them are quickly prepared without any other purpose than to rouse devotion by any means; others instead have also some intellectual claim and therefore are more accurate in reporting texts from ancient scriptures. This second class of books is here now considered because the stories they tell, or the rites they prescribe, are said to be found in some Purāṇa-s. This claim, which is based in most cases on oral tradition only, can prove to be extremely useful for the text reconstruction of some Purāṇic chapters. We know in fact how Purāṇa-s have passed through a continuous evolutive "aggiornamento", i. e. how new adhyāya-s have been added to sustain or praise particular deities, festivals or places and how other adhyāya-s have been suppressed because they no longer fitted into the newly inserted topics. Without entering now into the question of the legitimacy of such changes, it is worthwhile to observe the evolution of the Purāṇic text because it can reveal the rich cultural history of a whole region or system of religion. A comparison between the printed editions of the Prayāga Māhātmya-s and the actual Purāṇic text, those Māhātmya-s claim to reproduce, therefore, can be extremely useful.

The Purāṇa-s from which the printed Prayāga Māhātmya-s claim to have taken their wording are the Matsya and the Padma.

4. As it is known, some Māhātmya-s have remained outside the body of the Purāṇa-s and have been added to them only as an appendix (see e. g. the 'Kāśī Māhātmya' of the Brahmaparvā Purāṇa); others instead have been assimilated into the main body of the Purāṇa-s themselves and constitute therefore a legitimate part of the Purāṇic literature (ex. g. the Kāśī khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa). In some cases, like the Brahma Purāṇa and the Padma ex. g. the Purāṇa is mainly constituted of Māhātmya-s.

a. **Prayāga Māhātmya-s related to the Matsya Purāṇa**

We possess four editions of a printed Prayāga Māhātmya, which claim to be part of the Matsya Purāṇa.⁵ All of them contain one and the same text in twelve adhyāya-s and 697 śloka-s, while the actual printed editions and all the manuscripts of the Matsya preserved in the Sāmpūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya of Benares and in the Library of the Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā, Vārāṇasī, devote to the Prayāga Māhātmya only ten adhyāya-s and 257 śl. approximately. But notwithstanding this striking difference at first time, the two series of text seem to be in close relation on a more accurate examination. Their adhyāya-s and śloka-s can be compared in the following way :

TABLE No. 1

Prayāga Māhātmya Matsya Purāṇa
(Veñk. ed.) (Mor ed.)

Adhyāya	śloka-s	Adhyāya	śloka-s	Notes
1	56	102	25	of which 21 traceable in the Prayāga M.
2	38	103	19	all traceable in the Prayāga M.
3	42	104	22	18 traceable in the Prayāga M.
4	80	105	56	48 „ „ „ „
5	22	106	21	18 „ „ „ „
6	129	107	34	of which { 13 in adh. 6 of Pr. M. 7 „ „ 7 „ „ „
7	49			
8	75			
9	50	108	25	of which { 3 traceable in adh. 8 3 „ „ „ 9
10	71			
11	47	109	19	16 traceable in adh. 11 of P. M.
		110	14	8 „ „ „ 11 „
12	38	111	22	— — — — —
12	697	10	257	174 traceable in Prayāga M.

5. a. *Prayāga Māhātmya*, Śrī Kāśī Mahalla Dudhvināyaka Akhbar, 1854
 b. —do— , Sahara Banaras Divākar, Sāmvat 1934 (= 1877 A. D.)
 c. —do— , Bhairava Prasād Pāṭhaka, Sāmvat 1934 (= 1877 A. D.)
 d. —do— , Veñkateśvara Press, Bombay, Sāmvat 1981 (= 1924 A. D.)

As anyone can realize, the printed Prayāga Māhātmya has 440 śloka-s more than the Matsya Purāṇa and the actual common śloka-s are only 174 and yet, from the above collation, it is not difficult to recognize in the former a development of the latter by way of explanation. In the printed Prayāga Māhātmya each adhyāya of the Matsya Purāṇa has been increased, expanded, adapted to serve a pilgrim actually going to Prayāga. The interlocutors themselves, but only those belonging to the external frame of the narration, have been changed.⁶ In the Matsya Purāṇa the central dialogue on Prayāga, which, it is said, took place between Yudhiṣṭhira and Mārkaṇḍeya, is framed in the narration of Nandikeśvara—main narrator in this part of the Matsya from adh. 95—; in the printed Prayāga Māhātmya instead the central dialogue—here also between Yudhiṣṭhira and Mārkaṇḍeya—is preceded and followed by a conversation of Śaunaka with Sūta according to the scheme of the later Purāṇa-s.⁷ The printed Prayāga Māhātmya, moreover, contains, unlike the corresponding adh. in the Matsya P., the ‘paramparā’ (=traditional handing down) of the Māhātmya itself (XII. 31-34), thereby proving that it was considered a separate unit. Thus the external frame of the printed Prayāga Māhātmya shows signs of ‘rifacimento’ of the text of the Matsya P. in order to transform it from being a part of a book into an independent work.

The larger additions, as it appears from the above given collation, are in the adh. 6 to 10, in which long examples are introduced to illustrate the importance of going to Prayāga and the benefits one gets from such a pilgrimage. Here, it seems, we have an example of a primitive shorter Purāṇic text, that was later inflated and developed into an independent work; a process that is surely not common, as the general tendency is just the opposite i. e. to enclose any sort of topics into the Purāṇa-s and inflate them by any means. Evidently the Prayāga Māhātmya of the

6. H. P. Sastri says that “without three sets of interlocutors no history or Purāṇa is valid in India”, in Preface to “*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1928, pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX; see also V. B. Athavala, The role of Vyāsa, Sanjaya etc. in *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, Vol. III, Pt. 2 (Feb. 1945) p. 125
7. see what writes H. P. Sastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue etc. op. cit.* p. XC

Matsya Purāṇa had already become famous at the time of the composition of the later additions. This fact is also somewhat confirmed by the later Nibandha-s⁸, and by the oral tradition which usually connects any Prayāga Māhātmya with the Matsya Purāṇa.

b. Prayāga Māhātmya-s related to the Padma Purāṇa

We possess two editions of a Prayāga Māhātmya Śatādhyāyī, that claim to belong to the Padma Purāṇa.⁹ Both have one and the same text and colophons i. e.

इति पद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे प्रयागमाहात्म्ये.....

which relate them to the Pātāla khaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa. Of the Padma we at present possess, as it is well-known, two different redactions¹⁰; in neither however appears the Prayāga Māhātmya Śatādhyāyī, which instead is available in some MSS in the two above mentioned libraries of Benares.

The Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā possesses three MSS of the Śatādhyāyī namely MS No. 4392, 5912 and 7887, the last being written in Saṁvat 1892 (= 1835 A. D.).¹¹ Although the first is

8 see *Tristhalīsetu* pp. 7.23 and 8.11

9. *Prayāga Mahātmya Śatādhyāyī*, printed by Gaṇeśa Yallālāpa, Saṁvat 1924 (= 1847 A. D.)

Prayāga Mahātmya Śatādhyāyī with Hindi translation, printed by S.S.S. Śarmā, Daragañj, Prayāga, without date but with an introduction written in Saṁvat 1981 (= 1924 A.D.)

10. One is represented by the Ānanda Saṁskṛta Granthāvalīh N^o 131 (Poona), having the following khaṇḍa-s: Ādi khaṇḍa, Bhūmi khaṇḍa, Brahma khaṇḍa, Pātāla khaṇḍa, Śrṣṭi khaṇḍa, Uttara khaṇḍa and the other represented by the Gurumaṇḍala Granthamālā, known as Mor edition of Calcutta, having the following khaṇḍa-s: Śrṣṭi khaṇḍa, Bhūmi khaṇḍa, Svarga khaṇḍa, Brahma khaṇḍa, Pātāla khaṇḍa and Uttara khaṇḍa.

11. Here is a description as it appears in the हस्तलिखित संस्कृत ग्रंथ-सूची, तृतीय खंड, नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, वाराणसी, सं 2032.

MS. No. 4392 प्रयागमाहात्म्य, आधार—देशी कागज, लिपि-देवनागरी, आकार—22.9 × 11.5 cm., अपूर्ण, पत्रसंख्या 121 (1-14 स्फुट पत्र), 10 पंक्ति (प्रति पृष्ठ), 30 अक्षर (प्रतिपंक्ति), प्राचीन, colophon इति श्री पद्मपुराणे पातालखंडे प्रयागमाहात्म्ये माघविशेषकर्मनिरूपणे पंचाशत्तमोऽध्यायः ।

incomplete, it appears to be, like the other two, a copy of the printed text, with some variants of minor importance.¹²

The Sāmpūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya has 6 MSS, which seem to belong to three different redactions of the same text.

1. One¹³ is an exact copy of the printed Śatādhyāyī and contains therefore a hundred adhyāya-s.

2. Four¹⁴ belong to a Prayāga Māhātmya similar to the Śatādhyāyī but having only 90 adh., as it appears from MS 14,671 written in Samvat 1841 (= 1784 A. D.), the only one complete of this group, which ends in the following way :

इति श्रीपद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे शेषसनत्कुमारसंवादे

प्रयागमाहात्म्ये नवतितमोऽध्यायः ॥

इति प्रयागमाहात्म्यसमाप्ता ॥

MS No. 7887 प्रयागमाहात्म्य, आधार—देशी कागज, लिपि—देवनागरी, आकार—34.2 × 17.5 cm., पूर्ण, पत्रसंख्या 112(1-112), 16 पंक्ति (प्रति पृष्ठ)—46 अक्षर (प्रति पंक्ति), प्राचीन (सं० 1892) colophon इति श्री पद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे सूतशौनकसंवादान्तर्गतशेषसनकादिसंवादे प्रयागमाहात्म्ये श्रवणपठनफलादि

MS. No. 5912 प्रयागमाहात्म्य, आधार—देशी कागज, लिपि—देवनागरी, आकार—22.9 × 11.6 cm., अपूर्ण, पत्रसंख्या 52 (5, 6, 12, 76—124), 10 पंक्ति (प्रति पृष्ठ)—30 अक्षर (प्रति पंक्ति), प्राचीन—colophon इति श्री पद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे प्रयागमाहात्म्ये द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

12. see ex. g. §1.38 ab; where the MS. No. 5912 has;

ब्रह्म—क्षत्रिय—विशाशूद्राणामधिकारिताः ।

the printed edition gives —do— द्विजसेविणाम् ।

13. No 16,387 प्रयागमाहात्म्यम् - आधार—कागज, लिपि—देवनागरी, आकार—9.5 × 4 cm., पूर्ण, पत्रसंख्या 1—313, 9 पंक्ति, 37 अक्षर, लिपिकालः—1848, पाद्रे पातालखण्डे ।

14. No 14,671 प्रयागमाहात्म्यम्—आधार—कागज, लिपि—देवनागरी, आकार—12.9 × 6.5 cm., पूर्ण, पत्रसंख्या 1—61, 61—100, 13 पंक्ति, 44 अक्षर, लिपिकालः 1841, पद्मपुराणीयपातालखण्डम् ।

No 15,758 प्रयागमाहात्म्यम्—आधार—कागज, लिपि—देवनागरी, आकार—10.5 × 4.7 cm., अपूर्ण, 9 पंक्ति, 30 अक्षर, पत्रसंख्या 143 (गणनया), पद्मपुराणीयम् ।

No 15,891 प्रयागमाहात्म्यम्—आधार—कागज, लिपि—देवनागरी, आकार—9 × 4.1 cm., अपूर्ण, पत्रसंख्या 1—71, 9 पंक्ति, 37 अक्षर, पद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे ।

No 16,052 प्रयागमाहात्म्यम्—आधार—कागज, लिपि—देवनागरी, आकार—7 × 3.3 cm., अपूर्ण, पत्रसंख्या 1—22, 1—13, 9 पंक्ति, 25 अक्षर, पद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे ।

“This is the 90th adhyāya of the Prayāga Māhātmya : a conversation between Śeṣa and Sanatkumāra in the Pātāla khaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa. Here ends the Prayāga Māhātmya.”

Even a quick comparison between the printed Śatādhyāyī and this class of MSS reveals that the texts are in very close relation and almost the same; most probably the Śat. is an enlargement of the latter having only 90 adh.

3. One, at last,¹⁵ appears different both from (1) and (2) though the interlocutors are the same. Unfortunately it is incomplete (only 11 adh.). The last given colophon in fact says :

इति श्रीपद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे प्रयागमाहात्म्ये
शेषसनत्कुमारसंवादे अशीतितमोऽध्यायः ॥

“This is the 80th adhyāya of the conversation between Śeṣa and Sanatkumāra in the Prayāga Māhātmya of the Pātāla khaṇḍa, Padma Purāṇa”,

though the serial number of the adhyāya after it is 86. Further, two more adhyāya-s follow, but in one the colophon is not clear, in the other it is not finished, as it is at the end of a page and the following—the last of the manuscript—belongs to some other adhyāya. Although so mutilated and confused the extant text leaves little doubt about its being distinct from the other two.

As for the printed editions and the MSS of the Padma Purāṇa both in Devanāgarī and in Bengali script available in the two above mentioned libraries, as well as for the four Bengali MSS quoted by Aśoka Chatterji¹⁶, we have to affirm that none of them contains a Prayāga Māhātmya in its Pātāla khaṇḍa. This situation of the Śatādhyāyī in relation to the Padma Purāṇa seems to hint at the fact that, contrary to what we have seen in the Matsya Purāṇa, the text of the Śatādhyāyī was originally formed outside the Padma Purāṇa¹⁷ and referred to it in its colophon with the intention

15. No 15,929 प्रयागमाहात्म्यम्—आधार—कागज, लिपि—देवनागरी, आकार—10.5 × 4.1 cm., अपूर्ण, प्रवसंख्या 29 (गणनया), 9 पंक्ति, 43 अक्षर, पाद्यम् ।

16. See *Padma-Purāṇa—A study*, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 120-38.

17. A process which is usual for the Purāṇic history of the text.

probably of inserting it later in the Purāṇa. We can imagine that, at the time of the composition of the Śatādhyāyī, the Padma was particularly renowned as the Purāṇa containing Prayāga Māhātmya-s, so that any new addition on this subject could and had to be referred (or attached) to it in order to have the seal of authenticity. The process however seems to have stopped at this stage; the Śatādhyāyī in fact was not inserted in the printed editions of the Purāṇa.¹⁸ The fact of having chosen the Pātāla khaṇḍa for such an insertion instead of the Svarga khaṇḍa ex. g. or Uttara khaṇḍa, which already contained some other Māhātmya-s, may be due to the fact that, as it appears from the MSS of the Padma Purāṇa in the Sampūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya, the Pātāla khaṇḍa was most probably still under formation, i. e. its content was not yet fixed; any new topic therefore could be added to it.

Although at present no printed edition and no MSS of the Padma Purāṇa available in the famous libraries of Benares contain the Śatādhyāyī, yet no hasty conclusions should be drawn. It seems indeed that, in Benares itself, some MSS of the Padma, now no longer available or not yet traceable, contained the Śatādhyāyī or a similar booklet. In the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍar Library of the Fort Rāmnaṅgar there are two sūcīpatra-s¹⁹ partially describing the same MSS, which have this colophon²⁰

पद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे प्रयागमाहात्म्ये सूचीपत्रम्—

and give an account of the different adhyāya-s contained in it, but the described content corresponds only partially to the one available

18. This last stage failed also in many other cases. The Purāṇa-s, in fact, have attached many Māhātmya-s by way of appendices, supposedly written when the assimilating capacity of the Purāṇa-s was waning or had already disappeared. The case of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa and its quite recent assimilations constitute an exception.
19. N°90/113 सूचीपत्र अष्टादशपुराण के पत्र 100—made of paper, Devanāgarī script, Size 16×23.4 cm., 100 pages, 20 lines per page, complete, good, the variation in the number of letters per line is due to necessity of beginning a new line at each new adh. described.
N° (missing) पुराणानां सूचनपत्र—made of paper, Devanāgarī script, size 16×23.4 cm., pp. 1, 17-52, 61-78, 78, 79-134, 137-152, 152, 152, 153-255, 255, 256-291, 295-308, 311-312, 319-378, 382-388, incomplete, there are many corrections on a basically well-written MS, lines and letters quite irregular.
20. In No 90/113 at p. 13; in the other one at p. 93.

in the printed edition of the Śatādhyāyī. It is not improbable indeed that the text accepted in the Padma Purāṇa described in these śūcīpatra-s was different from the one current in the separate Śatādhyāyī; a probability which has a real support in what we have seen for the MSS of the Saṃpūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśva-vidyālaya. Whether the Śat. was only a local addition or is traceable in other places too has to be found out.²¹

C. Nibandha-s on Prayāga Māhātmya-s

As some Nibandhakāra-s—medieval systematizers and epitomists on Dharmasāstra—dealt also with Tīrthayātrā-s (or pilgrimages), taking their quotations mainly from the Purāṇa-s, it is not out of place to consider what they wrote and which Purāṇa-s they referred to. The advantage of studying such Nibandha-s is double; 1. As the whole material on a particular topic spread in the Purāṇa-s is here gathered, organized and sometimes discussed at length, they constitute a unique testimony of the Purāṇic text in their age and, for our present purpose, they help in better understanding the whole chapter on tīrtha-s. 2. We become acquainted through them with those Purāṇa-s that were considered more authoritative on that very topic chosen by the Nibandhakāra-s for discussion.²²

Among the numerous treatises on Tīrthayātrā-s I shall examine Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtyakalpataru for its being the most ancient (c. 1125 A. D.); Vācaspati Miśra's Tīrthacintāmaṇi (c. 1460) for its being the first extant systematizer of the Tīrthayātrā-s and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's Tristhaḷisetu (c. 1560) for its fame. As V. P. Kane has already used all of them for discussing the whole matter on Tīrthayātrā-s and Prayāga, I need not delay in general descriptions; I shall therefore consider only the relation between the Nibandha-s and the Purāṇa-s.

The following is a scheme that will help in discovering the mutual relations between the three selected Nibandha-s among themselves on the one hand and with the Purāṇa-s on the other.

21. The "śūcī-s", it is known, aimed at fixing and ordaining the always increasing subjects of the Purāṇa-s and somehow at establishing a "canon". Matsya P. 53, Nāradiya P. 4.92-109 etc. are examples that confirm this statement. The "śūcīpatra-s" enter in the spirit of Matsya 53 etc.
22. A "Bibliography" of treatises on tīrtha-s divided into 'General works' and 'Special works on individual Tīrtha-s' is given by K. U. Rangaswami Aiyangar at the end (pp. 293-94) of the Tīrthavivecana kāṇḍa, the 8th part of Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtyakalpataru.

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PRAYĀGA AND ITS KUMBHA MELĀ

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TABLE No. 2

KṚTYAKALPATARU (1125 A.D.) TĪRTHACINTĀMAṆI (1460 A.D.) TRISTHALĪSETU (1560 A.D.)

1. ———

1. *Prayāgavidhi*1. *Prayāga Mahātmya*

- a. Matsya 3
i.e. 104. 3-11
16-20
105.1-14, 15-22
- b. Bhārata III. 83.74-83

Padma 11	1	Bhaviṣya	1
Bhaviṣya 1	2	Matsya	2
Bhārata 1		Dhammatīrtha-	
Matsya 5		yātrā	1
		Rāmāyaṇa	2
		Padma	3
		Varāha	2
		Pulastya-tīrtha-	
		yātrā	1
		Skanda	1
		Brahma	1

2. *Prayāgatīrthayātrāvidhi*2. *Prayāga Smaraṇa Mahimā*

- Matsya 10
i.e. 106. 3-14
15-48
107. 2-11, 7

Ādiya	1	Brahma	5
Kūrma	3	Matsya	5
Nāradya	1	Mārkaṇḍeya	1
Padma	2	Skanda	4

108. 8-17

3. *Prayāga Vāsa*

- 23-34, 35
109. 10-12

Matsya	2
Skanda	1

110. 1-11

4. *Vāṇana-Vicāra*

111. 7-11

3. *Muṇḍanam*
- Matsya 4
Sāmaveda 1
Rigveda 1
Atharvaveda 1
Yajurveda 1
- Agni 1
Matsya 2
Skanda 1

2. <i>Tryakṣanāṇaḥalam</i>			
Padma 4			
Matsya 9			
5. <i>Māgha snāna vidhi</i>			
Agni 2		Matsya 4	
Āṅgirastīrtha- yātrā 4		Mārkaṇḍeya Mahābhārata 1	
Kūrma 4		Viṣṇu 4	
Nāradiya 4		Viṣṇudharma 2	
Padma 22			
Pulastyatīrtha- yātrā 1		Viṣṇudharmottara 1	
Brahma 10		Viṣṇusmṛti 1	
Bhaviṣya 8		Skanda 3	
Bhaviṣyottara 1			
6. <i>Prayāga Marāṇa Vidhi</i>			
Agni 1		Mahābhārata 1	
Kūrma 2		Varāha 1	
Padma 1		Viṣṇudharmottara 1	
Brahma 1		Skanda 2	
Matsya 3			
7. <i>Nṇatīrthāni</i>			
Agni 2		Bhaviṣya 3	
Kūrma 4		Matsya 4	
Narasimha 1		Mahābhārata 2	
Padma 3		Līṅga 1	
Brahma 8		Varāha 1	
Brahmāṇḍa 3		Viṣṇu 1	
Brahmavaivarta 1		Skanda 5	
4. <i>Marāṇaḥalam</i>			
Padma 8			
Matsya 7			
R̥gveda 1			

Note : The number that follows the Purāṇic names indicates how many times that test is quoted

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PRAYĀGA AND ITS KUMBHA MELĀ

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Note : The number that follows the Purāṇic names indicates how many times that text is quoted

- | Remarks | Remarks | Remarks |
|--|---|--|
| 1. Only the Matsya and the Mahābhārata are quoted. | 1. Only 3 Mahāpurāṇa-s are quoted i. e. Matsya, Padma, Bhaviṣya. | 1. 15 Mahāpurāṇa-s are quoted i.e. all except the Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Vāmana. |
| 2. In the whole Nibandha on Tīrthayātrāvivēcana the quotations are from :
Mbh. 3.80
Vāyu 77.125-28
Brahma
Devīpurāṇa | 2. In the whole Nibandha only 8 works are quoted. | 2. Vāyu is quoted instead of Śiva P. |
| 3. The Mbh. quoted at p. 6 is available also in :
Kāśī kh. (Skanda) 6. 29-45
Uttara kh. (Padma, ASS) 237. 11-38 | 3. In the whole Nibandha on Prayāga Matsya is quoted 25 times
Padma 23
Bhaviṣya 1 | 3. In all are quoted 26 works, with 169 quotations. |
| | 4. Padma is quoted 31 times
Brahma 25
Matsya 21
Skanda 16
Kūrma 15
Bhaviṣya 12
etc. | |

Even a bird's-eye view of the above scheme immediately reveals two important features, namely the inner structure of the Prayāga Māhātmya itself, and the number of the Purāṇa-s quoted in each of the three Nibandha-s.

As for the inner structure we can realize how the topic is systematized and made more and more complex as we proceed from the most ancient text, the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, to the most modern one. The later arrangements and the discussions of the most recent Nibandha-s were probably due to the increase of interest in the subject by larger groups of people in society and to the different and contradictory positions held by the authors writing on Dharmaśāstra. Both these reasons required an ordinate arrangement of the matter and a discussion to free the field from the opposite opinions.

As for the Purāṇa-s quoted by them, we should note that in the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, the most ancient, the Mahābhārata and the Matsya Purāṇa are the only quoted texts when the Prayāga Māhātmya is introduced and that, even in the general introduction to the whole topic of the Tīrtha khaṇḍa (see pp. 1-11), only three more Purāṇa-s are mentioned, namely the Vāyu, Brahma and Devī²³. This scanty number of Purāṇa-s quoted by Lakṣmīdhara hints at the fact that in the XII cent. A.D. (Lakṣmīdhara's date) the Tīrthayātrā-s had not yet entered the Purāṇic literature, perhaps because they had not then been so developed as they would have been later and that the only Purāṇic text dealing with Prayāga Māhātmya was the Matsya. Whether this text had developed from the few śloka-s the Mahābhārata²⁴ devotes to Prayāga (3.83.65-87) or it had an independent origin is now difficult to say. The Matsya anyway seems to have been the first Purāṇa which included a Prayāga Māhātmya. This could explain the close connection even nowadays in the popular mentality between Prayāga Māhātmya and Matsya Purāṇa.

23. To this we have only to add that some more śloka-s quoted by Lakṣmīdhara without giving any reference appear in the Skanda Purāṇa, Kāśī khaṇḍa 6.29-45 and Padma P. Utt. kh (ASS) 237.11-38 under the topic Māghasnāna, as K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar has pointed out (*op. cit.* p. 6 fn. 3).

24. In its Tīrthayātrā parvan i.e. 3.80-93.

The *Tirthacintāmaṇi* adds also the Padma to the quotations taken from the Matsya, although quoting not from a Prayāga Māhātmya but mainly from the Māghasnāna Māhātmya of the Uttara khaṇḍa. We can suppose that the Māghasnāna was a peculiar subject of the Padma and that owing only to this importance in relation to it the Padma could later incorporate longer and longer Prayāga Māhātmya-s, as they usually are in close connection with bathing in the month of Māgha.²⁵

The *Tristhalīsetu*, instead, while speaking of Prayāga, quotes from 15 Purāṇa-s. How far we are from the Kṛtyakalpataru with its quotations only from the Matsya ! An evolution had taken place in the Purāṇic texts. While in the XII cent. A.D. only one Purāṇa dealt with the Prayāga Māhātmya, in the XVI cent. A.D. or even earlier many other Purāṇa-s had also incorporated long passages on Tīrtha Māhātmya-s. Judging from the texts we possess, we can suppose that the Padma, Brahma, Skanda, Kūrma and Bhaviṣya Purāṇa-s had undergone such process of assimilation more than others²⁶.

The Purāṇic quotations in the Nibandha-s are testimony to the Purāṇic text in the Nibandhakāra's epoch; a comparison therefore between the quotations found in the Nibandhakāra-s of different epochs can help in studying the evolution of some chapters of the Purāṇa-s. As it would have been too long to check all the quotations found in the *Tristhalīsetu*, I went through only the ones taken from the Padma Purāṇa. They are enough anyway to give an idea of the problem.

Almost all the śloka-s quoted by the *Tristhalīsetu* are also available in the Uttara khaṇḍa of the Mor edition except some important cases which I discuss here.

Tristhalīsetu p. 9.6 Pādme.

अविमुक्ते विमुच्यन्ते तारकज्ञानसन्मना ।

विना ज्ञानं प्रयागेऽस्मिन् मुच्यन्ते सर्वजन्तवः ॥१॥

क्षेत्राणामुत्तमं क्षेत्रं तीर्थानां च तथोत्तमम् ।

गङ्गायमुनयोर्योगं प्रवदन्ति महर्षयः ॥२॥

25. The fact that the Māghasnāna Māhātmya is present in both the editions of the Padma could be a support to this theory.

26. See Table No 2, *Tristhalīsetu* Note N' 4.

सितासितोदकं तीर्थं ब्रह्माद्याः सर्वदेवताः ।

मुनयो मनवश्चैव सेवन्ते पुण्यकाङ्क्षिणः ॥3॥

गङ्गा पुण्यनदी ज्ञेया विष्णुपदोद्भवा ।

विरजा यमुना ब्रह्मस्तयोर्योगमुत्तमम् ॥4॥

यानि क्षेत्राणि पुण्यानि समुद्रान्ते महीतले ।

तेषां पुण्यतमं ज्ञेयं प्रयागाख्यं महामुने ॥5॥ इत्यादि

“(1) At Avimukta (= Benares) the noble-minded get mokṣa through the knowledge of the tāraka mantra. In this Prayāga all people get mokṣa without knowledge.

(2) The Mahārṣi-s proclaim the conjunction of the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā as the most excellent among the places and the highest among tīrtha-s.

(3) All the gods, Brahmā etc., the muni-s and the manu-s longing for religious merit resort to the tīrtha having bright and dark waters.

(4) Gaṅgā is to be considered a sacred river because born of Viṣṇu's feet (and) the Yamunā is pure; their conjunction, o Brāhmaṇa, is highly auspicious.

(5) Among all the sacred places on the surface of the earth reaching to the sea the most sacred should be considered the one called Prayāga, o great Muni.”

Of these 5 śloka-s the first is available in Uttara khaṇḍa ASS 250.271b-272a and in Śatādhyāyī 32.43; the śl. 2-4 in Nāradiya I. 6.5-7 and in Śat. 34. 16, 17; 35, 13; while the 5th is present only in Nārād. I. 6.9 The Nāradiya Purāṇa therefore is the only text in which the above-quoted śloka-s form a unit, just as they do in the Tristhalīsetu. We can perhaps suppose either that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, quoting from the Padma, was mistaken or that this text was present in both the Purāṇa-s in his time and then it disappeared from the Padma and remained in the Nāradiya. The fact that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa quotes from the Padma and that the śl. are available also in the Śat., which claims to be attached to the Padma, suggests that originally the śl. were only in the Padma Purāṇa.

Tristhalīsetu p. 14.20—Pādme.

ब्रह्महत्यादिपापानि सप्तजन्मार्जितान्यपि ।

दर्शनादस्य तीर्थस्य विनाशं यान्ति तत्क्षणात् ॥

“The sins, like killing of a Brāhmaṇa etc. even if committed in seven rebirths, are destroyed immediately at the very sight of this tīrtha.”

This śl. as well as those devoted to Yamunotpatti (see appendix 1) are available only in the Śat.²⁷, which claims to belong to the Padma. Perhaps then the Tristhalīsetu's author has taken them from the Śat., which in this case should be considered as belonging to the Padma at his time, unless, of course, we should suppose that the Śat. later incorporated some śl. that at Tristhalīsetu's epoch were still available in the Padma, and subsequently have disappeared. For the Yamunotpatti the problem is more complex, as the actual tradition connects that legend, if not the exact words, with the Skanda P.

Tristhalīsetu p. 45.4—Padmapurāṇe.

माघे मास्युषसि स्नानं कृत्वा दांपत्यमर्चयेत् ।

भोजयित्वा यथाशक्ति मात्यवस्त्रविभूषणैः ॥1॥

सौभाग्यं पदमाप्नोति शरीरारोग्यमुत्तमम् ।

सूर्यलोकप्रदं पुण्यं सूर्यव्रतमिदं स्मृतम् ॥2॥ इति

“(1) In the month of Māgha one should honour the lords of the house with garlands, clothes and ornaments according to one's possibility, after having taken one's bath at dawn and after having fed the brāhmaṇa-s.

(2) By doing so one gets a position of prosperity and high bodily health. This vrata to the Sūrya is mentioned as bestowing Sūrya's heaven and as being sacred.”

Śl. 1 a d and 2cd can be found in Matsya (Mor ed.) 100.36 a f, while 2ab is available nowhere. As we know, the Matsya was the most ancient Purāṇa containing the Prayāga Māhātmya; should we suppose then that these śl. belonged originally to the Matsya and only later were taken by the Padma from which Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa quoted them and then subsequently they disappeared from it again? It does not seem so. As the quoted śl. are taken from the Matsya adh. 100 in fact, which deals with ṣaṣṭhī-vrata-s and not from the Prayāga Māhātmya, the whole reasoning is not valid and no conclusion can be drawn. So this an example of how carefully we should proceed while dealing with Purāṇic matter.

27. See 33, 33.

Tristhalīsetu p. 35.2; 39.9; 40. 11, 27; 48.2. (Pādme)

स्वर्णभारसहस्रेण कुरुक्षेत्रे रविग्रहे ।
 यत्फलं लभते माघे वेण्यां चैव दिने दिने ॥
 नृणां स्त्रीणां तथा स्नानं स्वर्गदं पापिनामपि ॥
 उष्णोदकेन वा स्नानमशक्ये सत्तिकुर्वते ।
 दृढेषु सर्वगात्रेषु उष्णोदं न विशिष्यते ।
 हिमवत्पृष्ठतीर्थेषु सर्वपापप्रणाशनः ॥
 देहत्यागं तथा धीराः कुर्वन्ति मम संनिधौ ।
 मत्तनुं प्रविशन्त्येव न पुनर्जन्मने नराः ॥

“The fruit one gets at Kurukṣetra on the occasion of a solar-eclipse with thousands of gold-weights is gained every day in the Veṇī during the month of Māgha.

The bath is a bestower of heaven to men and women even sinners; if one cannot bathe in cold water, (the bath) gives svarga even through warm water. When the members are healthy then warm bath does not give any good.

The bath taken in the tīrtha-s as cold as the snow destroys all the sins.

Those men, who, resolute, abandon their body near me, enter surely my body, they are never born again”.

These śloka-s, except for the last one, which is available in Utt. khaṇḍa ASS 93.20, do not appear in the actual printed Padma Purāṇa, but in Nār. P. II. 63 73c-74b the first, and in id. II. 63.25 ab the fourth.

What has been noted here about the relation between the quotations found in the Tristhalīsetu and the Padma shows that the Purāṇic text of the Padma underwent evolution even after the XVI cent. A. D.

The śloka-s of the Matsya instead, quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataṛu, collated by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar with the printed edition (Mor ed.) of the Matsya, proved to be identical except for śl. 1cd at p. 136 of the Kṛtyakalpataṛu. This shows that the Purāṇic text of the Matsya, at least in this chapter, did not undergo any important evolution.

As each Nibandha deals with the topic from its own point of view, it offers a help in discovering how the theory and practice of the Tīrthayātrā modified during centuries.

Lakṣmīdhara gives primary importance to purity of mind and devout feelings as means for obtaining the fruits of pilgrimage.²⁸ He interpretes the 'Bhāva' (= essence) of a Tīrthayātrā as विशुद्धा मनोवृत्तिः²⁹ i.e. "purified disposition of mind"; moreover he 'simplifies' tīrtha ritual by making fasting optional, omitting tonsure altogether, explaining the pītr-pūjā at a tīrtha as an obligation of only the opulent, allowing conveyances for the journey, etc.³⁰

Vācaspati Miśra is the first Tīrthavivecanakāra we possess that deals systematically and accurately with all the acts a pilgrim has to perform in Prayāga, styled as 'Brahmayūpa' (= Brahman's sacrificial post) :

प्रयागस्तु ब्रह्मयूपोपलक्षितः प्रदेशः

"Prayāga then is a region regarded as 'Brahmayūpa'."

He insists, somewhat polemically against his predecessors, specially on the importance of tonsure and shaving.

तत्र यद्यपि कल्पतरुकारेण प्रयागे मुण्डनं नोक्तं न वा

तत्प्रमाणं दर्शितमिति तथापि बहुभिर्निबन्धभिः

परिगृहीतानि तु तत्तद् वचनान्युपसंगृह्यन्ते ॥ (p. 32)

"Even if tonsure is not prescribed at Prayāga by the author of the Kalpataru or its performance is not explained, yet here are gathered what declarations soever are obtained from many Nibandha-s".

For him tonsure becomes more important than offering pīṇḍa-s at Gayā, and gifts at Kurukṣetra or dying at Vārāṇasī,³¹

प्रयागे वपनं कुर्याद् गयायां पिण्डपातनम् ।

दानं दद्यात् कुरुक्षेत्रे वाराणस्यां तनुं त्यजेत् ॥

किं गयापिण्डदानेन किं काश्यां मरणेन वा ।

किं कुरुक्षेत्रदानेन प्रयागे मुण्डनं यदि ॥ (p. 17)

28. In Kṛtyakalpataru, Vol. VIII p. 9-11.

29. ib. p. 9.

30. See K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar *op. cit.* p. liii, who adds that 'his liberalizing influence was resisted by later writers'.

31. see also Śat. 35.5-6 and Nār. P. II. 63.106.

“One should make tonsure at Prayāga, offering of piṇḍa-s at Gayā, give presents at Kurukṣetra and leave one's body at Vārāṇasī.

What is the use of offering piṇḍa-s at Gayā or of death at Kāśī or of gifts at Kurukṣetra if one practices the tonsure at Prayāga ?”

The Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa will go as far as to promise mukti even to Mleccha-s if they shave at Prayāga³².

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa one century later, will have on this same topic something more to say. The current rule regarding tonsure was meant to apply to women also, but only for two or three fingers breadth.³³ Tristhalīsetu's author instead discusses at length the problem (p. 22) and concludes :

तस्मात् समूलमेव केशवपनमिह स्त्रीणामिति ॥

“Therefore here the shaving of the hairs up to the roots for women.”

This thesis seems to have become prevalent, at least for some time, because we find it sustained and prescribed at length also in the Śat.³⁴ But the most interesting peculiarity in *Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa*'s work on Prayāga is the *Yamunotpatti* which is not found anywhere else in the Purāṇa-s, except in Śat. adh. 89-92, although, as I shall clarify later, (see the Appendix No. 1) the birth of Yamunā, confused with Yamī, is available in the Purāṇa-s too. The Tristhalīsetu³⁵ quotes only some śloka-s of it and summarizes the others, which are said to be taken from the Padma Purāṇa although in no printed edition and consulted MSS of the Padma are ever mentioned. As the passage is of some importance for Purāṇic literature, it will be given as an appendix to this study.

32. I.6.28-29 : Calcutta, printed by Nando Mohan Banerjee and Co, 1891

यत्र मण्डितमुण्डस्ते म्रियतां यत्र कुत्रचित् ।

प्रसङ्गतो गतो यत्र म्लेच्छो मण्डितमुण्डकः ॥28॥

सोऽपि म्लेच्छवर्णित्वा मोक्षभाङ् नात्र संशयः ॥29॥

I owe this quotation to Mr. Ramesh Chandra De, General Secretary of the All-India Kāshirāj Trust.

cf. also what P.V. Kane *op. cit.*, IV. 568 says about Benares.

33. See P.V. Kane, *op. cit.* IV. p. 575.

34. 97.20-98 54; see P.V. Kane, *op. cit.* p. 603.

35 see p. 68 f.



TABLE No. 3

PADMA PURĀṆA

Matsya P. (Mor ed.)	Svarga kh. (Mor ed.)	Ādi khaṇḍa (ASS)	Uttara khaṇḍa (Mor ed.)	Uttara khaṇḍa (ASS)	Skanda P. (Mor ed.)	Nāradiya P. (Veṅk.)	Kūrma P. (Crit. ed.)	Agni P. (ASS)	Brahma P. (Mor ed.)	Bhaviṣya P. (Veṅk.)											
adh. śl.	adh. śl.	adh. śl.	adh. śl.	adh. śl.	adh. śl.	adh. śl.	adh. śl.	adh. śl.	adh. śl.	adh. śl.											
	39	37 (= 1-5, 66-97)	39	35 (= 1-5, 64-93)	23	49	23	54	<i>Vaiṣṇava kh.</i> adh. śl. II. 42	5 (= 1-5)	I. 6	9 (= 1-9)	34	46	111	14	25	6 (passim)	122	1 (śl. 5)	
102	25	40	40	40	38	(Gaṅgā-Prayāga-Yamunā- stutiḥ)	(Gaṅgā-Prayāga-Yamunā- stutiḥ)	IV. 4	1 (śl. 47)	II. 62	55	35	38					(Sarvatīrthamāhātmya)			
103	19	41	22	41	21	24	23	25	23	IV. 13	5 (= 49-53)	II. 63	174	36	15			57	5 (12-16)	Varāha P. (Veṅk.)	
104	22	42	24	42	24	(Prayāga Māhātmya)	(Prayāga Māhātmya)	<i>Kāśī kh.</i>				37	17					(Vāṭa-pūja)	adh. śl.		
105	56	43	57	43	56	81	6 (= 33-38)	82	9 (= 32-40)	adh. śl.									144	3 (= 100-3)	
106	21	44	22	44	21	(Gaṅgā Māhātmya)	(Gaṅgā Māhātmya)	7	21 (= 45-65)											Garuḍa P. (Chowk.)	
107	34	45	35	45	34	91	30	93	29	<i>Avantī kh.</i>									adh. śl.		
108	25	46	27	46	25	(Prayāga Māhātmya)	(Prayāgotpatti)	adh. śl.											I. 81	2 (= 1-2)	
109	19	47	20	47	20	126	152 (= 30-181)	246	187	II. 58	50									Liṅga P. (Vaṅg.)	
110	14	48	15	48	14	127	21 (= 145-165)	248	7 (= 70-76)	II. 71	84								adh. śl.		
111	22	49	17	49	17	(Māgha Māhātmya)		250	301										I. 92	1 (= śl. 48)	
10	257	11	316	11	305	6	281	7	610	6	166	3	238	4	116	1	14	2	11	Bṛhaddharma	
																				(Calcutta)	
																				adh. śl.	
																				I. 6	1 (38)
																				I. 15	2 (21-22)
																					Mahābhārata
																				[(cri ed.)	
																				adh. śl.	
																				III. 83	23 (65-87)
																				XIII. 26	2 (35-39)

Note : Of the adh. belonging to the Māgha Māhātmya : i.e. Mor ed. adh. 119, 124-127=śl. 783
ASS ed. adh. 219-250=śl. 2879
only those dealing with Prayāga have been considered.

Note : Revā khaṇḍa deals with Tīrtha-s but Prayāga is conspicuously absent.

Note : II. 31 speaks of Māgha, but there is no mention of Prayāga.

Mahābhārata
[(cri ed.)
adh. śl.
III. 83 23 (65-87)
XIII. 26 2 (35-39)

Note : Of the adh. belonging to the Māgha Māhātmya : i.e. Mor ed. adh. 119, 124-127 = śl. 783
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only those dealing with Prayāga have been considered.

Note : Revā khaṇḍa deals with Tīrtha-s but Prayāga is conspicuously absent.

Note : II. 31 speaks of Māgha, but there is no mention of Prayāga.



d. The Prayāga Māhātmya in the Purāṇa-s

We have seen that the Tristhalīsetu, while speaking of Prayāga, quotes from 15 Mahāpurāṇa-s; but not all of them indeed contain a Prayāga Māhātmya; other topics, like Māgha Māhātmya, Tīrthayātrā, Karmakāṇḍa etc. are also dealt with. Mention of Prayāga anyway can be found in several Purāṇa-s, besides, of course, in Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā kāṇḍa 54 and in Mahābhārata III. 83.65-87; XIII. 25. 35-37.

As can be seen from Table No. 3, the Purāṇa-s more conspicuously dealing with Prayāga are the Matsya, Padma, Nāradiya, Skanda, Kūrma and Agni, which partly correspond with those more often quoted by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (see above). From the quotations in the Kṛtyakalpataru, which mentions only Mahābhārata and the Matsya we already concluded that possibly the most ancient text on Prayāga Māhātmya in the Purāṇa-s is the one available in the Matsya. The statement has now to be specified in the sense that we do not exactly know whether in Kṛtyakalpataru's time other Purāṇa-s contained also a Prayāga Māhātmya or the Matsya simply was the most extensive on that topic or the most famous and therefore the only worthy to be quoted. Moreover from the ancientness of the Prayāga Māhātmya in the Matsya we have not to be easily drawn to conclude that the other Purāṇa-s are necessarily indebted to it. Subjects of such importance as Tīrthayātrā-s and Tīrtha Māhātmya-s could easily develop independently in different places, specially in times when pilgrimages played a great role in the religious life of the masses. The Prayāga Māhātmya-s, however, at present available in the Purāṇa-s are interrelated at least to some extent.

If we collate the *Matsya Purāṇa* 103-111 with the Svarga khaṇḍa, adh. 41-49 of Mor ed. and the corresponding Ādi khaṇḍa 41-49 of ASS we get an almost exact correspondence, as seen in Table No. 4.

That shows that the text in all the cases is the same. From the evidence of the Kṛtyakalpataru which quotes only from the Matsya, as we know, and from the pre-eminence given to the Matsya even in the Tristhalīsetu, we can safely deduce that Padma 41-49 is indebted to Matsya 103-111. The relation, on the contrary, between the Matsya and the Padma as far as the adh. 102 of the Matsya is concerned is more complex. The 25 śloka-s of this adh. indeed have

TABLE No. 4

	<i>Matsya P.</i> (Mor ed.)	<i>Svarga khaṇḍa</i> (Mor ed.)	<i>Ādi khaṇḍa</i> (ASS ed.)	
Adhyāya	Śloka-s	Śloka-s	Śloka-s	Adhyāya
103	19	22	21	41
104	22	24	24	42
105	56	57	56	43
106	21	22	21	44
107	34	35	34	45
108	25	27	25	46
109	19	20	20	47
110	14	15	14	48
111	22	17	17	49
9	232	239	232	9

been increased to 77 in the *Svarga khaṇḍa* and divided into two *adhyāya*-s and to 62 in the *Ādi khaṇḍa*, so as to include also the text of the *Mahābhārata* III. 83, *Kūrma* and *Agni*. In this respect the *Padma*'s *Prayāga Māhātmya* seems to be later than all the other *Purāṇa*-s from which it was borrowed.

The same conclusion is reached if we consider the *Padma*'s *Māgha Māhātmya*. I have already hinted at the process possibly followed in this case, i.e. how the *Prayāga Māhātmya* crept into the *Padma* through the mediation of the *Māgha Māhātmya*. In fact, although *Māgha* and *Prayāga* were really distinct as the following two śloka-s unmistakably prove :

पुष्करे च कुरुक्षेत्रे ब्रह्मावर्ते पृथूदके ।
 अविमुक्ते प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरे संगमे ॥69॥
 यत्फलं दशभिर्वर्षैः प्राप्यते नियमैर्नरैः ।
 तत्फलं प्राप्यते माघे त्रयहस्नानान्न संशयः ॥70॥

“The merit acquired by men by means of restraining in ten years at *Puṣkara*, *Kurukṣetra*, *Brahmāvarta*, *Prthūdaka*, *Avimukta*, *Prayāga* and at the confluence of the *Gaṅgā* with the sea, is gained through a three-day bath in the month of *Māgha*, no doubt”.³⁶

36. Utt. kh. (ASS) 221.69-70. See also *Nār. P.* II. 31.25-36, specially śl. 35.

yet as Māghasnāna was particularly renowned at Prayāga, the Purāṇa, dealing with Māgha, was somehow dragged in describing also Prayāga itself. In fact both the recensions of the Padma contain a Māghasnāna Māhātmya³⁷, incorporating a Prayāga Māhātmya, but the Mor ed. has 783 śl. distributed in 6 adh. of which only 297 (or more properly only 171) are devoted to Prayāga; the ASS has 32 adh. on Māgha, of which only 7 and 570 śl. deal with Prayāga properly. Besides, from the difference in the numbers of the śloka-s, and from the above given Table No 3, it appears that the text is only partially similar in the two recensions and therefore the Prayāga Māhātmya, contained in them, is not original but is due to later additions.

Borrowing and enlarging, it is known, are two of the normal processes in the Purāṇic compositions, which take place more easily and often when a bardic tradition with its cadences and refrains is still very vivid.³⁸ But our topic, although full of borrowings, seems to be only slightly influenced by bardic tradition. We can therefore say that besides the bardic tradition the subject itself, specially when it appeals to a great portion of the population, as is the case with the Tirtha māhātmya-s, can be a strong incentive to borrowing and enlarging, even if—as seems to be here the case—the tradition is not prevalently bardic, but mainly written.

Indebted to the Matsya Purāṇa but at the same time to the Mahābhārata and bardic tradition, seem to be the *Agni* and *Kūrma Purāṇa* s.

Completely independent instead appear the *Naradiya* and the *Skanda*, although in them too śloka-s can be found that are common with the previous Purāṇa s and most probably belonging to the bardic tradition.

37. Besides the Māgha Māhātmya the Kārtika Māhātmya also contains sometimes a Prayāga māhātmya, see Padma P., Utt. Kh. (ASS) 93 or (Mor) 91.

38. The studies on bardic literature are developing. For a general information on the problem see A.B. Lord, *The Singer of Songs*, New York, 1965; J.W. Jong, Recent Russian Publications on the Indian Epic, in *Brahma Vidyā: The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras, vol. xxxix (1975), pp. 1-42; P. L. Vaidya, *Introduction to Harivamśa's* critical edition, Poona, 1969, pp. xxxix-xlvii.

Special attention deserve adh. 58 and 71 of the Avanti khaṇḍa (Skanda Purāṇa), where the main innovation is that Prayāga is interpreted as, or better substituted by, Prayāgeśvara:

In II. 58.22 f. Kanyā says :

एवं मनसि सन्ध्याय गतोऽहं नृपसत्तम ।
 प्रयागं कामिकं तीर्थं सर्वदेवनमस्कृतम् ॥22॥
 तपस्तीव्रं मया तत्र तप्तं परमदुष्करम् ।
 अथाजगाम राजेन्द्र प्रयागो मूर्तिमान् स्वयम् ॥23॥

“Thus, o best among kings, I went to the desirable tīrtha Prayāga saluted by all the gods and did there an extremely arduous penance, then, o lord of the princes, Prayāga himself came in visible form.”

In these śl. is evident the effort to elevate or spiritualize the goal of a pilgrimage. An equivalent effort, although on another line, is made by the Brahma Purāṇa 25.2 ff.

यस्य हस्तौ च पादौ च मनश्चैव सुसंयतम् ।
 विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥2॥
 मनो विशुद्धं पुरुषस्य तीर्थं वाचां तथा चेन्द्रियनिग्रहश्च ।
 एतानि तीर्थानि शरीरजानि स्वर्गस्य मार्गं प्रतिबोधयन्ति ॥3॥
 इन्द्रियाणि वशे कृत्वा यत्र तत्र वसेन्नरः ।
 तत्र तत्र कुरुक्षेत्रं प्रयागं पुष्करं तथा ॥6॥

(1) He, who has hands, feet, mind well controlled, gets the merits of a tīrtha i. e. knowledge, penance, fame.

(2) Man's pure mind is a tīrtha, and the restraining of voice and senses as well. These tīrtha-s belonging to the body make acquainted with the way to heaven.

(6) Wherever a man reduces to subjection his senses there is Kurukṣetra, Prayāga and Puṣkara”.³⁹

In the other Purāṇa-s too this spiritual aspect, although not so much stressed, is often kept in mind.⁴⁰ The Avanti khaṇḍa then,

39. See also what P.V. Kane, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 553 says on this topic.

40. See Uttara khaṇḍa (ASS) 237.25-27; Mbh. Anuśāsana parvan 108. 16-18 (cf. P. V. Kane *op. cit.*, IV p. 555 fn. 1243).

as Lakṣmīdhara among the Nibandhakāra-s, wants to stress the real significance of a tīrtha, which is not simply to step on the stones of the ghāṭa-s or to take a dip into the water of a river, but to meet God himself or to encounter that special form of God which can be only experienced in his correspondent tīrtha. The importance of a tīrtha is so stressed and the pilgrimage acquires the value of a spiritual urge.⁴¹

By way of general remark one could object that the Māhātmya-s do not enter in the 'pañcalakṣaṇa' scheme traditional to the Purāṇic arrangement and therefore they are illegitimate or apocryphal. Whether that is a sound conclusion or a mere prejudice has to be seriously considered. I have already stated that the Māhātmya-s spoken of here are integral parts of the Purāṇa-s and not appendices to them like ex. g. the Pañcakrośī Māhātmya or Kāśī Māhātmya, attached to the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa,⁴² i. e. they have been accepted and incorporated in the main body of the Purāṇa. Now, what has been proved by S. H. Levitt,⁴³ namely that the first time we find in the literature the compound 'Purāṇa-pañcalakṣaṇa', i. e. in the Amarakośa, the word does not refer to the later traditional five topics (sarga, pratisarga etc), but to a group of subjects, one of which were the Purāṇa-s, should be already a first call to prudence while judging the legitimacy of the pañcalakṣaṇa and other topics. Moreover the ancient definition of Purāṇa 'पुरा नवं भवति'⁴⁴, which can be understood as an exigence to renewal inherent to the Purāṇic structure, signifies that no topic is really permanent and fixed in such books, but is subjected to continuous evolution. I think that we possess already enough proofs to say that topics other than the pañcalakṣaṇa were the subjects of the Purāṇa-s from the very beginning and that it is proper to the Purāṇic nature to incorporate

41. see also what P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, IV. p. 562 writes.

42. See *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa Pariśiṣṭha*, Kāśīrahasya Tṛtīya Vibhāga, Calcutta (Mor ed.), 1957 and the numerous Kāśīmāhātmya-s or Pañcakrośīmāhātmya-s available in the Sāmpūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya cf. MSS 16, 479; 16, 484; 16, 492; 16, 498 f. etc...

43. In his article 'A note on the compound Pañcalakṣaṇa in Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana', *Purāṇa*, XVIII, 1 (Feb. 1976) pp. 5-38.

44. Nirukta 3.19.

always new topics by way of 'aggiornamento' to the different topographical, chronological or religious and social situations.⁴⁵ In this light I consider the Māhātmya-s authentically and legitimately Purāṇic.

2 Kumbha Melā or Sādhu Melā

As we said in the beginning, Prayāga is a place of particular attraction for pilgrims in the month of Māgha⁴⁶, so that whenever in the Purāṇa-s Prayāga is praised Māgha is also mentioned and wherever Māghasnāna is described very often also Prayāga enters in the picture. We have said moreover that Māghasnāna at Prayāga has a peculiar value every twelve years, on the occasion of the Kumbha parvan.

The name 'Kumbha' indeed does not refer to Prayāga alone, but to three other places also, namely Haridvār, Ujjain and Nāsik, so that we have now to enlarge our field of research, both because other places enter into the picture and because the Purāṇa-s are of no use in this case as they do not contain any mention of a Kumbha melā or parvan.

To support the ancientness of the Kumbha melā have been quoted by some paṇḍits⁴⁷ a few passages from the Veda-s, the two most striking being the following :

1. चतुरः कुम्भाश्चतुर्वा ददामि

(Atharva Veda 4.34.7)

"I give four pitchers (Kumbha), in four several places" (trans. Griffith), in which the four 'Kumbha'-s in four places have been

45. See what V. Raghavan, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 36 writes; "Purāṇa...means old; a Purāṇa is therefore the account of an old myth...old but always new, purā api nava..."; Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar, Purāṇas as the vehicle of India's Philosophy of History, in *Purāṇa*, V,1 (Jan. 1963), p. 6 says '...in orthodox tradition Purāṇas are described as ever fresh even as they are old-purāpi navam purāṇam.'

46. See Padma P. Utt. kh. (ASS) 93, (Mor. ed.) 91 and Ś. 12.3ff.

47. The quotations in the following No 1 and 2 have being taken from Venīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa, *Kumbha parva mähātmya*, Kāśī, Saṁvat 2004 (= 1947 A.D.).

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interpreted as the four localities where the Kumbha melā takes place. But in fact, on a closer examination, it is not difficult to discover how the text has been simply adapted to signify the Kumbha melā by separating it from the context. The full verse indeed runs :

चतुरः कुम्भांश्चतुर्धा ददामि क्षीरेण पूर्णं उदकेन दध्ना ।

"I give four pitchers, in four several places, filled to the brim with milk and curds and water." (trans. Griffith)

The verse, which belongs to a hymn in glorification of a certain sacrifice called Viṣṭārī, is commented by Sāyaṇa in the following way :

क्षीरादि द्रव्येण पूर्णान् चतुरः कुम्भान् चतुर्धा प्रागादि
दिग्भेदेन चतुष्प्रकारं दधामि दिक्षु निदधामि ॥

"4 kumbha-s full of ingredients like milk etc.

'caturdhā' i. e. in 4 ways according to the division of the directions, east etc.

'dadhāmi' i. e. I put in the quaters."⁴⁸

We have to suppose therefore that not even in Sāyaṇa's time such verse was connected with Prayāga and the Kumbha although in his age Tirthayātrā-s were very common. So we have to deduce that the previous adaptation is quite recent and possibly restricted to small circles.

पूर्णः कुम्भोऽधि काल आहितस्तं वै पश्यामो बहुधा नु सन्तः ।

स इमा विश्वा भुवनानि प्रत्यङ् कालं तमाहुः परमे व्योमन् ॥

(Atharva Veda 19.53.3)

"On Time is laid an overflowing beaker (= Pūrṇa Kumbha) : this we behold in many a place appearing.

He carries from us all these worlds of creatures. They call him Kāla in the loftiest heaven." (trans. Griffith)

Here पूर्णः कुम्भः which even according to the commentary of Sāyaṇa refers to 'Time', as the whole hymn is dedicated to him, is understood as signifying the 'Pūrṇa Kumbha' every twelve years as distinct from the 'ardha Kumbha' every six years.⁴⁹

48. Note that while the text has ददामि, Sāyaṇa comments दधामि.

49. Other quoted passages are R.V. 10.89.7; 1.116.7; Yaj. V. 19.87; Ath. V. 16.6.8

Although the interpretation of the Scriptures given in a particular epoch by the faithful has to be considered legitimate, yet I doubt how many persons are ready to accept the proposed meaning of the quoted verses, when it is so removed from the original sense of the Scriptures and when even Sāyaṇa did not mention it, though he usually superimposes the interpretation of his own times on the basic meaning of the Veda-s.

More attention instead deserve *Rgveda Khila-No 20 and 22*⁵⁰, even if they draw our attention on Prayāga more than on the Kumbha. They say :

यत्र गङ्गा च यमुना यत्र प्राची सरस्वती ।
यत्र सोमेश्वरो देवस्तत्र माममृतं कृधीन्द्रयेन्दो परिस्रव ॥
सितासिते सरिते यत्र संगते तत्राप्लुतासो दिवमुत्पतन्ति ।
ये वै तन्वां विमृजन्ति धीरास्ते जनासोऽमृतत्वं भजन्ते ॥

“Those people who having bathed where the bright and dark rivers meet, resolute, abandon indeed their body, ascend to heaven and enjoy immortality.”

The reference to Prayāga if not to the Kumbha, in the way common to the Purāṇa-s, is clear and striking, all the more since they seem to be the only places in the Veda-s, where it is recorded. As it has been noted, these khila-s, as their very name leads us to think, are to be considered later than the bulk of the Saṃhitā-s themselves. How much later however is still a question to be determined. Anyway, as these verses are the only mention of Prayāga, the solution remains uncertain. We can only say that they were written when Tīrthayātrā-s were already common and that at present we have no sure records about such yātrā-s being a religious feature of the Vedic age, although even in the Saṃhitā-s tīrtha-s are mentioned.⁵¹

Two Upaniṣad-s also contain a clear mention to Prayāga: Śivopaniṣad 6. 192

प्रयागं कामिकं तीर्थमविमुक्तं तु नेष्टिकम् ।
श्रीपर्वतं च विज्ञेयमिहामुत्र च सिद्धिदम् ॥

50. N° 20 is placed in R. V. 7.5.28 and N° 22 usually placed in R. V. 10.75 (see P. V. Kane, *op. cit.* IV. 596-97) commented by the Skanda P., Kāśī kh. 7.54, Padma P., Utt. kh. (ASS) 246.35. See Tristhalisetu p. 4 and p. 11. cf. I. Scheftelowitz. *Die Apokrypher der Rgveda*, Indische Forschungen I, Breslau, 1906; M. Winternitz, *A history...* *op. cit.*, Vol. I. 1. pp. 51-52.

51. For other references to vedic texts about ‘tīrtha-s’ see P. V. Kane *op. cit.* IV. 954.

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"Prayāga is the desired tīrtha, it is the highest Avimukta. It is recognized as 'Śrīparvata' and bestowing perfection in this world and in the other".

Jābāladarśanopaniṣad 4.49

कुरुक्षेत्रं कुचस्थाने प्रयागं हृत्सरोरुहे ।

चिदम्बरं तु हृन्मध्ये आधारे कमलालयम् ॥

"Kurukṣetra is in the place of the breast, Prayāga is in the lotus-like heart, Cidambara is in the middle of the heart, Kamalālaya is in mūlādhara".

The themes of these Upaniṣad-s are so alien from the classical ones that hardly one can accept that they should be even styled 'Upaniṣad-s' at all. Their insistence on tīrtha-s on the other hand reveals that they were written when the practice of Tīrthayātrā-s was well established and developed. We can even think that they were written to give a kind of official 'philosophical' approval to the practice of pilgrimages, a process which is not unusual.

Leaving therefore the Veda-s because their evidence, if any, is quite irrelevant and not conducive to any reasonable conclusion, we come to other sources, the most conspicuous of which is the testimony of Huen-Tsiang, Chinese buddhist pilgrim, who travelled through India in the VII cent. A D at the time of Mahārājā Harṣa. Although he does not mention the Kumbha melā, he speaks of a big tree near a temple at the feet of which people used to commit suicide, he mentions also the religious suicide in the holy waters of the saṅgam.⁵² In his time therefore Prayāga was considered a particularly sacred place having some of the features described also in the Purāṇa-s.⁵³ His disciple, Shaman Hwui Li, even more than

52. See Samuel Beal, *Buddhist records of the western world*.

53. See ex. g. "To the east of the enclosure of the charity at the confluence of the two rivers, every day there are many hundreds of men who bathe themselves and die. The people of the country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven ought to fast to a grain of rice and then drown himself in the waters. For bathing in this water, they say, all the pollution of sin is washed away and destroyed; therefore from various quarters and distant regions people come together and rest. During seven days they abstain from food and afterwards end their lives".

Huen-Tsiang himself, stresses the great gatherings that took place just at the saṅgam, in the place called the 'great charity enclosure' because there kings showed their generosity by distributing goods to the different classes of people.⁵⁴ With all that anyway no mention of a melā called Kumbha. The only thing we can deduce from these descriptions is that Prayāga was already a famous place where people used to gather in great number.

From the VII cent. A.D. the interest in such periodical religious gathering went on increasing. We can assume that it reached its climax in the Middle Ages, when Tīrthayātrā-s were given great importance.

Tradition says that Śaṅkara has been the pioneer of the Kumbha melā at Prayāga, by transforming it from a gathering of single groups and of local significance only into a pan-indian meeting of akhāṇḍa-s or maṭha-s (i. e. sādhu-s, svāmin-s etc.) and extending it to the above mentioned four places.⁵⁵ But other stories are also common among people. Some say ex. g. that the interval of 2 years is due to the fact that the congregation of the Mahārṣi Sānaka, Sānanda etc. used to take place after such a number of years at Haridvār and Prayāga. Others maintain that, as special practices had to be performed by yogin-s every twelve years, they began to gather at Haridvār etc. to get facilities in their yogic practices. Others, at last, claim that this melā has to be traced back to Buddhists who had their dharmapariṣad-s or vīraṣat-meetings for succession from time to time.⁵⁶ None of these traditions however can be supported by written records.

54. See Samuel Beal, *Life of Huen Tsiang*.

55. In fact there is no hint that Śaṅkarācārya was aware of any Kumbha melā at Prayāga. "Some think that originally this fair belong to the Nāga-s only and gradually sādhu-s of different sects came to be associated with it on account of its highly religious character or fervour. A large number of nuns also attend the fair." (R.S. Bhattacharya. The Kumbhaparvan, in *Hindutva*, Jan. 1977 p. 1). It should be noted that about Kumbha melā there is almost nothing written; most of the news are simply a hearsay.

56. All these news can be found in Veṅīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa *op. cit.* pp. 13-14 and 30-31.

A little more can be said about the name of 'Kumbha'. Of this name applied to the gatherings at Haridvār, Prayāga etc. there are two different traditions: one that can be called 'Purāṇic' though at present not available in the printed editions of the Purāṇa-s and the other that can be styled as 'jauṭiṣa' or astrological. The distinction between the two however is not sharp and nothing prevents thinking that they underwent reciprocal influence or even that at the beginning they were indeed only one.

The *Purāṇic* tradition is in relation to the churning of the ocean (kṣīra samudra manthanam). It is said—a tradition which is common among people⁵⁷—that when Garuḍa was carrying the amṛta kumbha from the recently-churned sea to Viṣṇuloka to give it to the deva-s he stopped at Haridvār, Prayāga, Ujjain and Nāsik and for that reason such places began a regular celebration of the Kumbha melā. I could not find any text supporting this kathā.⁵⁸ Another version of it is attached to the Skanda Purāṇa although no printed edition of such Purāṇa has at present these śloka-s. As this is the only *supposed* Purāṇic source for the origin of the Kumbha parvan and melā, it is worth reading it.⁵⁹

अथातः सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि कलशोत्पत्तिमुत्तमाम् ।

उत्तरे हिमवत्पाश्वे क्षीरोदो नाम सागरः ॥ 1 ॥

आरब्धं मन्यन् तत्र देवैर्दानवपूर्वकैः ।

मन्यान् मन्दरं कृत्वा नेत्रं कृत्वा तु वामुकिम् ॥ 2 ॥

मूले कूर्मन्तु संस्थाप्य विष्णोर्वाहू च मन्दरे ।

एकत्र देवताः सर्वे बलिमुख्यास्तथैकतः ॥ 3 ॥

मथ्यमाने तदा तस्मिन् क्षीरोदे सागरोत्तमे ।

उत्पन्नं गरलं पूर्वं शम्भुना भक्षितं च तत् ॥ 4 ॥

अथ स्वास्थ्यं गते लोके प्रकथ्यन्तेऽद्य तानि हि ।

उत्पन्नानि च रत्नानि यानि तत्र महान्ति च ॥ 5 ॥

57. It is supported by Venīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
 58. Variants of this story can be found in J. H. Deva, *Immortal India*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960, vol. I. p. 27 and in R. S. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.* p. 5.
 59. The text is quoted from Venīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa, *op. cit.* pp. 6-8. See an introductory study of the churning of the ocean in V. M. Bedekar, *The legend of the churning of the ocean in the epics and the Purāṇas: A comparative study*, *Purāṇa* IX.1. (Jan., 1967), pp. 7-61.

विमानं पुष्पकं पूर्वमुत्तमं हंसवाहनम् ।
 नाग ऐरावतश्चैव पादपः पारिजातकः ॥ 6 ॥
 वीणावाद्यान्तरं चैव रम्भा नृत्यगुणाविता ।
 मणिरत्नं कौस्तुभाख्यं वालचन्द्रस्तथैव च ॥ 7 ॥
 कुण्डलानि धनुश्चैव गावः पञ्च शिवास्तथा ।
 लक्ष्मीः सुरूपा यमुना सुशीला सुरभिस्तथा ॥ 8 ॥
 उच्चैःश्रवाः समुत्पन्नो लक्ष्मीश्च वरवर्णिनी ।
 तथा धन्वन्तरिर्देवो विश्वकर्मा कलाविदः ॥ 9 ॥
 कलशश्च समुद्भूतो धन्वन्तरिकरोल्लसन् ।
 मुखान्तं सुधया पूर्णः सर्वेषां हि मनोहरः ॥ 10 ॥
 अजितस्य पदाम्भोजकृपयैव समुद्गतम् ।
 क्षीराब्धिलोडनोद्भूतं कलशान्तेन्द्र रत्नकम् ॥ 11 ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तु तत्क्षणादेव महावलपराक्रमः ।
 जयन्तोऽमृतमादाय गतो देवप्रचोदितः ॥ 12 ॥
 देवकर्मसमालोच्य तदा दैत्यपुरोधसा ।
 नागोच्छ्वासप्रव्यथिता दैत्याः शुक्रेण सूचिताः ॥ 13 ॥
 जग्मुस्ते पृष्ठतो लग्ना भीतः सोऽपि पलायितः ।
 दिशो दश दिवारान्नं द्वादशाहं प्रपीडितः ॥ 14 ॥
 दैत्यैर्गृहीतस्तद्दहस्तात् तेनापि पुनरेव सः ।
 अहं पिबेयं पूर्वं तु न त्वञ्चेति विचुक्रुशुः ॥ 15 ॥
 एवं विवदमानेषु काश्यपेषु सुधाग्रहे ।
 भगवान् मोहयित्वा तान् मोहिन्या विभजत् सुधाम् ॥ 16 ॥
 विवादे काश्यपेयानां यत्र यत्रावनिस्थले ।
 कलशो न्यपतत्तत्र कुम्भपर्वं तदोच्यते ॥ 17 ॥
 गुर्वीन्द्रर्कस्वपुत्रैश्च कुम्भोऽरक्षि निपातितः ।
 कलहाक्रान्तचेतोभिर्दैत्यैः शुक्रप्रचोदितैः ॥ 18 ॥
 चन्द्रः प्रस्रवणाद्रक्षां सूर्यो विस्फोटनाद्दधौ ।
 दैत्येभ्यश्च गुरु रक्षां सौरिर्देवेन्द्रजाद् भयात् ॥ 19 ॥
 सूर्येन्दुगुरुसंयोगस्तद्राशौ यत्र वत्सरे ।
 सुधा कुम्भप्लवे भूमौ भवति नान्यथा ॥ 20 ॥
 देवानां द्वादशाहोभिर्मर्त्यैर्द्वादशवत्सरैः ।
 जायन्ते कुम्भपर्वाणि तथा द्वादशसंख्यया ॥ 21 ॥

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तत्राद्यनुत्तये नृणां चत्वारो भुवि भारते ।
अष्टौ लोकान्तरे प्रौक्ता देवैर्गम्या न चेतरेः ॥22॥

तान्येति यः पुमान् योगे सोऽमृतत्वाय कल्पते ।
देवा नमन्ति तत्रस्थान् यथा रङ्गा धनाधिपान् ॥23॥

पृथिव्यां कुम्भयोगस्य चतुर्धा भेद उच्यते ।
विष्णुद्वारे तीर्थराजेष्वन्त्यां गोदावरी तटे ॥

सुधा बिन्दुविनिक्षेपात् कुम्भपर्वेति विश्रुतम् ॥24॥

(Skanda-Purāṇa)

- “1. And now I shall tell the excellent appearance of the Kumba.
In the northern side of the Himālaya there is a sea whose name is Kṣīroda (=milk-ocean).
2. Once there the deva-s and the dānava-s along with them began the churning of the ocean. They put (the mountain) Mandara as churning-stick, (the serpent, Vāsuki as string to whirl round the churning-stick,
3. Established the tortoise (Kūrma) at the bottom and Viṣṇu's arms on the Mandara. All the deva-s stood in one side and those who head Bali as their head (= dānava-s) on another side.
4. There, when this Kṣīroda, the best of the oceans, was churned, first of all poison appeared, which was eaten by Śambhu (= Śiva).
5. Now, when the world reached its full welfare, were produced there those that today are called great jewels.
6. First the excellent self-moving aerial car (=Vimāna Puṣpaka), having a swan for conveyance, the elephant Airāvata and the tree Pārijāta (=the coral tree or Erythrina indica).
7. And among them Rambhā, excellent in dancing, playing on the vīṇā, and the best gem called Kaustubha, and also the waxing moon,
8. ear-rings and a bow, and the five auspicious cows as well, namely, Lakṣmī, Surūpā, Yamunā, Suśīlā and Surabhī.

9. Uccaiṣrava sprang up together and Lakṣmī having beautiful complexion and the deva Dhanvantari, Viśvakarman conversant with arts.
10. And a pitcher was produced shining in Dhanvantari's hands, full with nectar up to the brim, attracting indeed everybody's mind.
11. 12. Jayanta, of great power and strength, having seen the pitcher come forth out of the compassion of the lotus-like foot of the invincible (= Viṣṇu), produced by the agitation of the ocean of milk, having the best of the jewels at its top, instigated by the deva-s took immediately the nectar and run away.
13. Then the daitya-s, distressed by the sighs of the nāga (Vāsuki), having considered thoroughly the action of the deva-s, informed by Śukra, chief priest of the daitya-s,
14. Went following on his heels. He, been pressed, afraid, run also away in the ten directions, for 12 days and nights.
15. The nectar was taken by the daitya-s out of his hand and again (recovered) by him. They angrily quarrelled, 'I will drink it first'; 'Not you'.
16. While the descendants of Kaśyapa were thus discussing for the seizing of the nectar, the Lord having bewildered them by means of Mohinī distributed the nectar.
17. In whatever place of the earth the pitcher fell during the quarrelling of the descendants of Kaśyapa, there then is called Kumbha parvan.
18. The pitcher, which was made to fall by the daitya-s who had their spirits seized by quarrel, urged by Śukra, was protected by Guru (= Jupiter), Indu (= Moon), Arka (= Sun) and his son (= Saturn).
19. The Moon gave protection from flowing forth, the Sun from breaking, Jupiter from the daitya-s, Saturn from the fear of Devendra's son (= Jayanta).
20. In the year in which there is a conjunction of the Sun, Moon and Jupiter in that (= Kumbha's) constellation,

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there is the Kumbha in the place where the Kumbha's nectar had fallen; in no other occasion.

21. As 12 days of the deva-s are 12 years of the mortals, so the Kumbha parvan-s are 12 by number.
(And the 12 Kumbha parvan-s derive from the 12 days of the deva-s i.e. twelve years of the mortals).
22. 4 Kumbha-s are known here in the land of Bharata for the removal of men's sins and 8 in the other world approachable by deva-s and not by others.
23. The man, who goes to them (Kumbha parvan-s) during the conjunction, partakes in the immortality. The deva-s bow down to those who are there, as the poor bow down to the rich.
24. The division of the Kumbha-yoga on earth is fourfold, at Viṣṇudvāra (=Haridvār), Tīrtharājā (=Prayāga), Avantī (=Ujjain), Godāvarī's bank (=Nāsik). It is known as Kumbha parvan because drops of nectar were thrown".

The kathā is an 'aition' in which not only a Purāṇic reason is given for the name of 'kumbha' and for the selection of the four places in which the melā is celebrated, but where an attempt is made (śl. 18-21) to give also an astronomical support for such an extraordinary gathering in those places. Śl. 22 may hint at the different importance the melā is said to have at special intervals, say after 24, 96 or 144 years, although the most current divisions about its importance are the Ārdha kumbha, every six years and the Pūrṇa kumbha every twelve years. But of this division there is no mention in the above quoted text.

The *astrological tradition* of the Kumbha is instead more complex. There are two series of texts, both ascribed to the Skanda, although not traceable in the printed editions, one referring to Haridvār and the other to Prayāga. For *Haridvār* the traditional śloka-s run as follows⁶⁰:

पद्मिनीनायके मेघे कुम्भराशिगते गुरौ ।

गङ्गाद्वारे भवेद्योगः कुम्भनामा तथोत्तमः ॥

60. The śl. are quoted from Venīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa, *op. cit.*, 16-17.

वसन्ते विषुवे ! चैव घटे देवपुरोहिते ।

गङ्गाद्वारे च कुम्भाख्यः सुधामेति नरो यतः ॥

“When the Sun is in Meṣa (= Aries) and Jupiter in Kumbha, (= Aquarius), then that is a great yoga called Kumbha at Gaṅgādvāra.

When Jupiter is in Kumbha at Spring's equinox it is called Kumbha at Gaṅgādvāra, from which a man gets nectar.”

For them then the conjunction (yoga) called Kumbha derives its name from *Jupiter being in Kumbha rāśi* (= Aquarius) while the Sun can be in Meṣa (= Aries).

The Hindi Śabdasāgaram⁶¹ s.v. Kumbha writes :

एक पर्व का नाम जो प्रति बाहरवें वर्ष पड़ता है । इस अवसर पर हरिद्वार में बड़ा मेला होता है ॥ वह पर्व इस लिये कुम्भ कहलाता है कि जब सूर्य कुम्भ राशि का होता है तभी यह पड़ता है ।

“(Kumbha) is the name of a parvan (= auspicious day) which arrives on every twelve years. On this occasion a great religious fair takes place at Haridvār. That parvan is called Kumbha because it takes place when the Sun is in Kumbha.”

According to this text the yoga gets its name from *the Sun being in Kumbha*. Although they differ in fixing the celestial body that should be in Kumbha rāśi, yet the above texts agree in establishing that for having the Kumbha yoga one of the celestial bodies should be in Kumbha rāśi.

For *Prayāga* it is said⁶² :

मेघराशिगते जीवे मकरे चन्द्रभास्करी ।

अमावास्या तदा योगः कुम्भाख्यस्तीर्थनायके ।⁶³

मकरे च दिवानाथे ह्यजगे च बृहस्पतौ ।

कुम्भयोगो भवेत्तत्र प्रयागे ह्यतिदुर्लभः ॥

61. By Śyāma Sundaradās, vols 1-7, printed at Allahabad 1916-28.

62. see Venīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa, *op. cit.* p. 17.

63. This śl. is similar to what P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, IV, 287 says, ‘The Sun and Moon should be in Makara rāśi: Jupiter in Taurus (Vṛṣabha), there is amāvāsyā: this is called Kumbhayoga.’ The eminent author who is speaking of the Kumbha parvan at Prayāga, does not give the source of his statement.

“When Bṛhaspati (=Jupiter) is in Meṣa, the Moon and the Sun in Makara (=Capricornus) and it is amāvāsya, then the yoga is called Kumbha at Tīrtharājā.

When the Sun is in Makara (=Capricornus) and Bṛhaspati in Aries, then there is a Kumbha yoga, difficult to have, at Prayāga”.

In these śloka-s, ascribed to the Skanda Purāṇa, the Kumbha yoga is not connected with celestial bodies being in Kumbha rāśi. Therefore there seems to be no apparent reason why such conjunction should be styled Kumbha at all. The Purāṇa-s on the other hand, while speaking of the Māghasnāna at Prayāga, are unanimous in saying that the Sun should be in Makara⁶⁴ and never mention a yoga called Kumbha. Indeed they seem to repeat a bardic refrain when they write मकरस्थे रवौ माघे or similar⁶⁵, without having any real concern for the astrological position of the planets.

If we now compare the astronomical conjunction as described for the Kumbha at Haridvār and as described for Prayāga it appears that the name Kumbha fits the former and is out of place for the latter. It seems therefore that the Kumbha melā gets its name from a big gathering that used to take place at Haridvār every twelve years on the occasion of a particular conjunction of planets, one of which was in Kumbha rāśi. When such a big gathering was extended also to other places, the particular conjunction that takes place on such occasions was called also Kumbha even though no celestial body was in Kumbha rāśi. The passage on Kumbhotpatti I have quoted from the Skanda Purāṇa calls Kumbha the conjunction of the Sun, Moon, Jupiter in Kumbha rāśi (śl. 18-21), without specifying in which place the Kumbha should then take place. Anyway, even if this tradition is common also among people, it does not seem to apply to any of the Kumbha melā-s actually celebrated.⁶⁶

As for the period of this fair there are two different views. “Some are of opinion that the Kumbhayoga happens regularly after a period of 12 years (solar years). Others hold that unless

64. See Padma, Utt. kh. (ASS) 126. 33; 127.162 etc.

65. The only slightly discordant text being Prayāga Māhātmya (Veṅk.) I. 5ed “मकरस्थे गुरौ माघे मकरस्थे दिवाकरे” and a few others.

66. It is important to note that there is no clear mention of the Kumbhayoga in astronomical works dealing with the “yoga-s”.

some particular astronomical factors come into existence the fair cannot be held. These scholars boldly assert that Kumbha fair may be celebrated even in the 11th year after the holding of one Kumbha. It is further stated that the factor *saṁkrānti* is not essential in determining the Kumbha yoga; it is Brhaspati's association with Siṁha which is the principal factor for this determination. There is still another view that in such matters as the Kumbha parvan it is not the position of the *grahas* (= planets, that counts, but the consideration of varṣa, māsa and tithi (i.e. year, month, lunar day). Whether the Kumbha is a *varṣa parvan* or not is still to be determined.”⁶⁷

I can conclude the whole topic of the Kumbha melā with the following words of one of the most authoritative paṇḍits of Benares: “The foregoing discussion reveals that the fair is not an ancient one. Owing to its non mention in the Purāṇic and allied works we are led to think that it has been purposely grafted on some religious congregation used to be celebrated on certain holy days. Some scholars do not regard it as a parvan but a bath (snāna) only... The origin of the Kumbha fair seems to lie in the notion of holiness of this (Māgha's) bath at Prayāga. To be explicit: A certain religious bath used to be celebrated at Prayāga in the month of Māgha from the hoary past. This gradually gained the form of fair and the promulgators of the Kumbha fair utilized this pre-existing fair to serve their purpose. It is these promulgators who seem to have given the name Kumbha to this fair.... It may also be accepted that a fair of catholic nature like the Kumbha (but not named Kumbha) was started at Prayāga in the month of Māgha, even before the Kumbha fair at Haridvār came into existence.... The view that the Kali era started from the full moon day of Māgha (vide *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi*, p. 87, also seems to have led persons to hold a popular fair like Kumbha in Prayāga.... It appears that the name Kumbha was given to this fair at Prayāga afterwards after the name of the Kumbha fair (named after the Kumbha rāśi) at Haridvār.”⁶⁸ The unknown facts, therefore, are more numerous than those which are known. It seems that there could be much scope for some scholars in looking for the origin of this so great a fair.

67. R. S. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.* p. 3.

68. see R. S. Bhattacharya *op. cit.* pp. 6-9.

In order to give an idea of what takes place during the Kumbha melā I shall now gather some notes on the pilgrimage to Prayāga; that will be the best description of the celebrations for the Kumbha, although the rules laid down here do not apply only to the Kumbha, but to any pilgrimage to Prayāga.

3.—A Pilgrim-Guide to Prayāga

After having studied in the previous pages the Prayāga Māhātmya and the Kumbha parvan and melā I shall now give, in a more discursive way, some rules for the pilgrims who intend to accomplish their religious duty to go to Prayāga. To prepare the following pilgrim-guide I kept in mind specially the following works, namely the *Prayāga Māhātmya*, which claims to be attached to the Matsya Purāṇa, because it can be considered a witness to the oldest Purāṇic tradition on Prayāga; the *Prayāga Māhātmya Śatādhyāyī* (Ś), because it is the most complete treatise on the subject and seems to have been written after Akbar; the article *Prayag or Allahabad* which reproduces the usages relating to the Kumbha melā at the beginning of this century; and the *Kumbhakarva māhātmya*, which is a conspicuous representative of the living tradition⁶⁹. Besides that, I had always in mind also V. P. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, which in the case of Prayāga faithfully follows the *Tristhali-selu*, a pilgrim-guide to the three most famous tīrtha-s in northern India, and contains many references to other works as well.

a. On the way

Before laying down the rules for a pilgrimage, we should ask who can undertake a Tīrthayātrā, i. e. who are the persons eligible for, entitled for, or capable (=adhikāra) of, a pilgrimage. The problem, already discussed at length by P. V. Kane⁷⁰ need not detain us very long. The eminent author's conclusion that 'Tīrthayātrā was a popular way for redemption of sins in the case of *all* classes of men and *women*'⁷¹ can be accepted, all the more that the same conclusion can be partly drawn from reading Ś. 38. 9-17. The only interesting peculiarity of this Māhātmya in comparison

69. see also Bibliography at the end.

70. *op. cit.* IV. 567

71. *ib.* p. 569.

with what is stated in other works is its affirming that the *jñāni*-s need not go for Tīrthayātrā-s:

द्वन्द्वसंगविमुक्तानां ब्रह्मध्यानैकचेतसाम् ।

संविदातीर्थभूतानां न तीर्थगमनं मतम् ॥ (Śl. 17)

“For those who are free from attachment of the opposite, who have their spirits unified in the meditation of Brahman, who have become conscious tīrtha-s, going for a tīrtha has no purpose.”

On the other hand we know from other sources that the merit of a pilgrimage can be realized in a *vicarious manner*⁷² as it is hinted at in Kṛtyakalpataru's Tīrthavivecana, p. 11:

षोडशांशं स लभते यः परार्थेन गच्छति ।

अर्घं तीर्थफलं तस्य यः प्रसङ्गेन गच्छति ॥

“He, who goes for money from another, gets one sixteenth; he, who goes while bent on another purpose, has half of the fruits from a tīrtha”.

So there seems to be no strict necessity of going on a pilgrimage.

Now, those who are entitled to do a Tīrthayātrā and have decided to start for the pilgrimage should follow a particular ritual, which is largely described by P. V. Kane⁷³. Here I lay down only the special rules for going to Prayāga, even if they partly tally with the general ones.

According to the *Prayāga Mahātmya*, a pilgrim who starts for Prayāga should shave his head, fast and perform a śrāddha of ghee on the first day; every day of his journey he should bathe and remain controlled and brahmacārī, travel without shoes, upper garment, and turban. No use should be made of any conveyance, because conveyance destroys half the merit; but if he cannot avoid it, he may go as he can; only he should remember Hari with devotion, as this is the only way of getting the fruits of the Tīrthayātrā.⁷⁴

According to the *Śatādhyāyī* (38.30 ff) one should fix the date of the pilgrimage following the prescriptions of the pañcāṅga and

72. *ib.* p. 578, where the translation of the following śl. is also justified.

73. *ib.* p. 583.

74. *Prayāga mahātmya* (Venk.), 4.4-10.

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the śāstra-s; on the first day one should eat only once; on the second day one should eat only sacrificial food; on the third day one should fast and shave; on the fourth day, after bath and the daily duties, one should offer a pūjā to Gaṇeśa and to his favourite deity (= iṣṭa devatā); then after having selected the deities of one's journey, one should perform a śrāddha of ghee, give food to deserving brāhmaṇa-s, put on the special dress called 'kārpaṭī' and recite the saṅkalpa (= declaration of intention). One should then take leave of the elders and go out of the village at an auspicious time. Having made a turn around the village, the pilgrim should then eat the ghee and the other items used in the śrāddha. Every day he should take his bath, which he will repeat any time he touches anything that had to be avoided⁷⁵, do his daily duties, keep morally irreprehensible behaviour, eat only once a day, sleep on the floor, without putting any shoes and turban and carrying arms. If someone becomes impure on the way, one should stop three days and then continue one's journey. If a pilgrim has recited the saṅkalpa and is obliged to interrupt his journey, he should perform a 'prāyaścitta' (= expiation rites). If one dies on the way, one will be considered as a ṛṣi. The journey should be completed on foot if one wants to get all the fruits of one's pilgrimage, but even if one has to use some conveyance, at least two yojana-s should be covered on foot. The conveyance itself should be no cart hauled by cows otherwise the pilgrim becomes a cow-slayer; no bullock cart because in this case only half of the merit will be gained. If one cannot avoid conveyance one should use elephants, horses, men or boat. A pilgrim should travel barefooted, without umbrella, stick etc. except when he is a 'snātaka'.

b. Prayāga

The word 'Prayāga' is usually interpreted as composed of 'yāga' (= yajña i. e. sacrifice) and 'pra', where 'pra' stresses the eminence of the efficacy of this tirtha when compared with all the others and 'yāga' refers to the mythical sacrifice performed by

75. This seems to be on a different line than the *Kṛtyakalpataṛu*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, vol. X (Śuddhi kāṇḍa) p. 169 quoting Bṛhaspati in his 'Samskāra', p. 28.

तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां संग्रामे देशविप्लवे ।

नगरग्रामदाहे च स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यति ॥

Brahmā (Prajāpati or Pitāmaha) before creation, in which 'Prayāga was the middle one of the vedī-s, the others being Kurukṣetra in the north (uttaravedī) and Gayā in the east'.⁷⁶ Prayāga and its qualitative 'Tīrtharājā' are explained by the Brahma Purāṇa in the following way :

प्रकृष्टत्वात् प्रयागोऽसौ प्राधान्याद् राजशब्दवान्

"It is called Prayāga on account of its eminence and it has the word 'rājā' (in Tīrtharājā) applied to it on account of its being the chief." (trans. by P. V. Kane IV. 598)⁷⁷

'The modern name of Allahabad was given to Prayāga by Akbar the Mogul Emperor, who built the fort that stands near the confluence of the two rivers. The date of construction is 1584 A.D. The non official alias of Prayāga was at first Ilahabas, half Arabic and half Sanskrit, meaning the Abode of God. Subsequently Ilahabas was changed into Allahabad (=the city of God) by Shah Jahan. Allahabad became one of the many Subas into which the Empire was divided by Akbar for administrative purposes'.⁷⁸ The Ś. 5-8.33 narrates a story, which is popular even nowadays, about the way in which Prayāga was selected as Tīrtharājā. The kathā says that when all the muni-s, ṛṣi-s, sādhu-s, ascetics, devotees etc. went to Śeṣarājā to ask whether there was a 'rājā' among tīrtha-s, Śeṣarājā to prove that such a rājā existed, showed them a scale, on one pan of which he put the value of all the pātala-s, parvata-s etc. and on the other the importance of the saptapurī-s (or the seven

76. P. V. Kane *op. cit.* IV. 597-98.

77. Quoted in Tristhalīsetu, p. 13 : see Ś. 33.14 cd. I remind here what the Tristhalīsetu, p. 13 discusses and V. P. Kane, *op. cit.* IV. 598 repeats in English about the double grammatical gender of Prayāga, which is masculin or neuter according to the words it is joined with :

अत्रोभयथा पुराणे प्रयोगादुभयलिङ्गः प्रयागशब्दः । तत्र तीर्थक्षेत्रादिशब्द-
सामानाधिकरण्ये क्लीबता । तीर्थराजादिशब्दसामानाधिकरण्ये पुंलिङ्गतेति
वृद्धाः ।

78. Prayag or Allahabad, in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, 1910, p. 652.

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sacred towns).⁷⁹ As the saptapurī-s turned the scale, he declared that in fact the real reason of this was that among them there was Prayāga : all tīrtha-s in fact draw their significance from Prayāga like 'jagat' (=this 'movable' world) derives its existence from Brahmāṇḍa (=the universe as Brahmā's egg). At a second weighing indeed, in which Prayāga stood alone against all the others, the eminence and superiority of the Tirtharājā was definitely proved.

All the sources we have used in the first part of this article, the Nibandha-s and the Māhātmya-s, extoll the greatness of this sacred city. Here only a small specimen can be given, taken out of thousands of śloka-s. Some of the following śloka-s here quoted from the Prayāga Māhātmya (Venk. ed.) are traceable also in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇa-s.

Prayāga Māhātmya (Venk. ed.) I. 55-56 :

दर्शनात्स्पर्शनात्स्नानाद् गंगायमुनसंगमे ।

निःपापो जायते मर्त्यः सेवनात्स्मरणादर्पा ॥55॥

मोहो निवर्तते सद्यो जन्मान्तरशतोद्भवः ।

तस्मात्तद्गमनादेव त्वन्मोहो विनिवर्तते ॥56॥

“(55) By seeing, touching, bathing at the junction of the Yamunā with the Gaṅgā as well as by serving and remembering it a mortal becomes free from sin.

(56) Bewilderment produced in a hundred births disappears immediately. Therefore your bewilderment comes to end by merely going there”.

ib. II. 13c-20

अधर्मेणावृता लोका नैव गच्छन्ति तत्पदम् ॥13॥

79. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका ।

पुरी द्वारवती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिकाः ॥

(Bhūtaśuddhitantra quoted in Śabdakalpadruma s. v. Ayodhyā).

Note that Prayāga is not counted among them, although the Ś. presupposes its presence.

अल्पमल्पतरं पापं यदा तस्य नराधिप ।
 प्रयागं स्मरमाणस्य सर्वमायाति संक्षयम् ॥14॥
 दर्शनात्तस्य तीर्थस्य नाम संकीर्तनादपि ।
 मत्तिकालम्भनाद्वापि नरः पापात्प्रमुच्यते ॥15॥
 पञ्चकुण्डानि राजेन्द्र येषां मध्येन जाह्नवी ।
 प्रयागदर्शनादेव पापं नश्यति तत्क्षणात् ॥16॥
 योजनानां सहस्रेषु यो गङ्गा स्मरते नरः ।
 अपि दुष्कृतकर्मासौ लभते परमं पदम् ॥17॥
 कीर्तनान्मुच्यते पापाद् दृष्ट्वा भद्राणि पश्यति ।
 अवगाह्य च पीत्वा च पुनात्यासप्तमं कुलम् ॥18॥
 सत्यवादी जितक्रोधोऽप्यहिंस्रोथानुसूयकः ।
 धर्मानुसारी तत्त्वज्ञो गोब्राह्मणहिते रतः ॥19॥
 गङ्गायामुभयोर्मध्ये प्रवेशादेव सत्वरम् ।
 निष्पापो जायते मर्त्यः पापकर्मरतोऽपि सन् ॥20॥

- “13. The worlds are enveloped by Adharma and do not reach the highest goal.
14. When one recalls Prayāga, o king, his slightest sin is completely destroyed.
15. By seeing this tīrtha, even by mentioning its name or even by touching its earth, a man is freed from sin.
16. The five kuṇḍa-s (are there), o best of kings, and in the middle of them there is the Gaṅgā; by merely seeing Prayāga immediately sin disappears.
17. He, who remembers the Gaṅgā from one thousand of yojana-s, even if he is an evil-doer obtains the supreme position.
18. By mentioning it, one is freed from sin, seeing it one sees prosperity, by bathing and drinking one purifies ancestors up to the seventh generation.
19. He who speaks truth and has also subdued anger, who is innocuous, not envious, follower of his duty, knower of truth, intent upon the good of cows and brāhmaṇa-s,

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20. By the very entering in the middle of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā immediately a mortal, even if he is addicted to doing sin, becomes sinless”.

ib II. 25-27ab

ईप्सितान् लभते कामान् यत्र यत्राभिजायते ।
 तपनस्य सुता देवी त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुता ॥25॥
 समागता महाभागा यमुना यत्र निम्नगा ।
 यत्र सन्निहितो देवः साक्षादेव महेश्वरः ॥26॥
 प्राप्यते मानवैः पुण्यं प्रयागे तु युधिष्ठिर ।

25-27ab. “Where one gets the desired wishes, where one is reborn, where the Sun’s daughter, the goddess famous in the tree worlds, the illustrious river Yamunā joins, where the god Maheśvara is present just personally, at Prayāga indeed, merit is acquired by men, o Yudhiṣṭhira”.

When we come to consider the *topographical aspect* of this town and try to identify the sub-tīrtha-s to which a pilgrim has to go in order to make his journey to Prayāga fructiferous, we are really overwhelmed by the huge number of tīrtha-s and the disagreement about their names in the texts we are studying. All our sources affirm that the tīrtha-s at Prayāga are innumerable and countless:

अन्यान्यपि च तीर्थानि शतशोथ सहस्रशः ।
 तीर्थराजं समाश्रित्य सर्वान् कामान् महाफलान् ॥

Prayāga M. IX 49.

“Also other tīrtha-s by hundreds and by thousands dwelling at Prayāga (bestow) all the desires and merits”.

And when they venture to give their exact number then we get figures like 30 crores and 10 thousand or 60 crores.⁸⁰ As to their names found in our sources it is as if out of the hundred thousands of sacred places available at Prayāga, each author had chosen a few according to his own liking, with the result that the disagreement is almost total. Whether this difference in names in the sources should be considered the result of a change in the actual names of the tīrtha-s in course of time or as simply a process of magnification due to the desire of praising more and more the greatness of the city is difficult to say. The wisest thing to do would be either not

80. See below Table No. 5.

to speak at all of the single tīrtha-s as P. V. Kane does⁸¹, or limit our research to those places venerated even nowadays, as the 'Modern Review' does, or again take only one text and try to identify the tīrtha-s described in it, as S. G. Kantawala⁸² does. I shall try, instead, to find out first of all the leading principle of such a selection in the names and then to give the most complete list of tīrtha-s available in our sources. This will help on the one hand to have a complete picture of the town and on the other to discover the basic idea, the spirit, so to say, with which one has to undertake a pilgrimage.

Prayāga is divided in all our texts in three parts, which Kane⁸³ clearly defines as :

Prayāga maṇḍala

Prayāga

Veṇī or Triveṇī.

Prayāga maṇḍala is said to be 5 yojana-s long. Those who enter this maṇḍala get merits of an aśvamedha at every step.⁸⁴

Prayāga, called also *Prajāpati kṣetra*,⁸⁵ has well defined boundaries i.e. Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Jhusi) at east, Bahumūlaka at south, Kambalāśvatara Nāga-s at west and Vāsuki at north (on the northern end of Daragañj).

Veṇī or *Triveṇī* is long only 20 (Kane IV. 599) or 30 (Ś. 34. 1) dhanuṣa-s. According to Ś. 34 it is of three types:

- a. Near the Akṣaya-vaṭa it is *Mūlaveṇī*
- b. Where both the streams of Yamunā and Gaṅgā meet is *Madhyaveṇī*

81. In fact he speaks of about 13 of them in *op. cit.*, IV. 614-15 but very shortly, although with many references to the sources.

82. See *Prayāga Mahātmya*—A study, in *Purāṇa* Vol. IX. No 1 (Jan. 1967), pp. 103-120.

83. *op. cit.*, IV. 598.

84. See Ś. 32.40.

पञ्चयोजनविस्तीर्णं प्रयागस्य तु मण्डलम् ।

प्रविष्टस्यैव तद्भूमावश्वमेधः पदे पदे ॥

The śl can be found in some *Purāṇa*-s too. cf. P. V. Kane, *ib. fn.* 1357.

85. See Ś. 32.41-42 and some *Purāṇa*-s cf. P. V. Kane, *id.*, p. 599 fn. 1358.

c. As far as Someśvara is *Antyaveṇī*

This would be the reason why the Veṇī is called 'Triveṇī'. Ś. 34's interpretation is, however, different from the usual one which sees in the 'Triveṇī' the saṅgam of the three streams (= Veṇī), namely Yamunā, Gaṅgā and Sarasvatī. According to the article 'Prayag or Allahabad' (p. 663) the 'holy of holies' is a triangular ground lying between the Akṣaya-vaṭa on its west side, the Pratiṣṭhānpuri on the east side and Alārkapuri (modern Arail) in the south. This Veṇī or confluence of the rivers is the most sacred and meritorious place in the world, it is called therefore the 'middle parts of the earth' (= jaghana).⁸⁶ Triveṇī in fact can hint also at the three components of the sacred AUM, where 'A' stands for Śaradā and for Pradyumna her God, 'U' for Yamunā and Aniruddha her God, 'M' for Gaṅgā and Saṅkarṣaṇa her God.⁸⁷ Moreover the three kūpa-s or five kuṇḍa-s contained in it have a direct connection with the sacrifice which was performed here by Brahmā in the hoary past. Just sticking to this tradition Ś 8.1 ff says that the territory of Prayāga is like an altar (*vedī*) which can be subdivided into *antarvedī*, *madhyavedī*, *bahirvedī*—a division which tallies with the triple one given above, namely Prayāga maṇḍala, Prajāpati kṣetra and Triveṇī.

All the numerous tīrtha-s of Prayāga are situated by our sources in this territory but in different way. While some seem to name them at random, the *Prayāga Mahātmya* divides and describes them according to their position in relation to the rivers Yamunā and Gaṅgā. A kind of unity is so given to all the tīrtha-s not only from a topographical but also from a logical point of view; the tīrtha-s indeed are not separate units, which happen to be in the same place, but are parts of a whole, i.e. Prayāga, which is supported and vivified by the two most sacred rivers.

A more elaborate arrangement is introduced by the *Śatadhyāyī*. The leading idea underlying the description of all the tīrtha-s at Prayāga is here the spatial one, i.e. the names are catalogued according to their succession in the cardinal points of the town. So

86. See V. P. Kane, *op. cit.*, IV. 600; the author gives the references of Mbh. and some Purāṇa-s where this word is introduced to describe the saṅgam at Prayāga.

87. See Ś. 34.15; see also Tristhalīsetu p. 8. and the Purāṇa-s quoted in P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, IV. 600.

we have the list of the tīrtha-s belonging to the Indra-diśā, or belonging to the Agni-diśā, to Yama-diśā etc. Thus whenever a pilgrim turns his face in that space he can recall some tīrtha-s. He is in a way submerged by tīrtha-s. The image of being 'plunged into' a sea of tīrtha-s is not exaggerate. The Ś. itself seems to suggest it when in some place (Ś. 75), while speaking of the temples dedicated to Mādhava, the tutelar deity of Prayāga, it says that besides a temple in each of the 8 directions, there is a temple also below the Akṣaya-vaṭa, i. e. in the depth of the earth and one in the Veṇī kṣetra, i. e., on the pole itself of the world. So from this description one can deduce that the leading idea in enumerating the tīrtha-s is that the pilgrim should plastically become aware that at Prayāga he is in a completely sacred space; there he is really at the centre of the ritual, temporal, spatial, philosophical sacredness. At Prayāga he does not simply plunge into sacred waters but into the sacredness itself. He joins Brahmā in his sacrifice, he can see Mādhava everywhere (in his temples), he is immersed into AUM. No wonder if he gets mukti there, not only for himself but for many of his kinsmen of past and future generations.⁸⁸ At Prayāga he reaches the depth of depths, the reality of realities, the truth of truths. This seems the message conveyed by the topographical description of Prayāga in our texts.

If we now try to see how many and which tīrtha-s are described at Prayāga, we should first of all have a look at the following Table No. 5 which gives all the tīrtha-s of Prayāga as they can be found in the texts we are studying.

As it can be easily realized, it is impossible to say even a few words for each of the tīrtha-s; and also selecting the important ones is not an easy task.⁸⁹ I shall reduce my description to two tīrtha-s only, by all considered the most important, i. e. the Triveṇī, or Veṇī, called also the 'jaghana' of the world and the Akṣaya-vaṭa,

88. See Prayāga Māhātmya (Veṅk.) II. 18; Padma P., Svarga kh. (Mor ed) 43 39; 45.4, 9 etc. cf. P. V. Kane, *ib.*

89. The article 'Prayag or Allahabad' p. 655 quotes the following important tīrtha-s to be visited by a pilgrim.

त्रिवेणी माघवं सोमं भरद्वाजञ्च वासुकिम् ।

वन्देऽक्षयवटं शेषं प्रयागे तीर्थनायकम् ॥

TABLE No. 5

Continued

ŚATĀDYĀYĪ

Aśvathāna (85.1)

Atri āśrama (84.20)

B

Bahumūlaka (88.38)*Bharadvājaśrama* (84.24)*Bhārgava tīrtha* (88.40)*Bhogavati tīrtha* (85.25)*Bindumadhava* (74.28)*Brahmakupḍa* (86.1; 88.50)*Brahmanāla tīrtha* (86.29) Bṛhaspati
tīrtha (9.32)

C

Cakramādhava (73.28)*Cakra tīrtha* (84.1)*Cāmara tīrtha* (88.40)

D

Dakṣiṇa diśa (18.4ff.)*Daśāśvamedha tīrtha*
(86.5)

Mbh. III.

NĀRA-
DIYA P.

AGNI P.

KŪRMA P.

PADMA P.

MATSYA P.

PRAYĀGA

MAHĀTMYA

(Svarga-Ādi)

Bahumū-

laka

(63.130)

Bhoga-

vati

(83.72)

Daśāśva-

medha-

tīrtha

(63.97)

(83.82)

(41.4)

(43.47)

(39.82; 43.46; 47.7)

(106.46)

(106.33)

(4.62; 9.37)

(86.5)

(84.1)

(88.40)

(86.29)

(88.50)

(84.24)

(88.40)

(85.25)

(86.1; 88.50)

(74.28)

(86.5)

(84.20)

(85.1)

(9.32)

(41.4)

(43.47)

(39.82; 43.46; 47.7)

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(39.82; 43.46; 47.7)

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(86.1; 88.50)

(74.28)

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(41.4)

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(39.82; 43.46; 47.7)

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(4.62; 9.37)

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(86.1; 88.50)

(74.28)

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(39.82; 43.46; 47.7)

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(85.25)

(86.1; 88.50)

(74.28)

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(84.20)

(85.1)

(9.32)

(41.4)

(43.47)

(39.82; 43.46; 47.7)

(106.46)

(106.33)

(4.62; 9.37)

(86.5)

(84.1)

(88.40)

(86.29)

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(86.1; 88.50)

(74.28)

(86.5)

(84.20)

(85.1)

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(43.35)

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patana
(35.23)
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pāṇḍura
(35.25)

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prapatana
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...nāgau ...nāgau ...nāgau ...nāgau ...nāgau
(39.72; (111.5) (35.18) (63.130) (83.72)
41.4; 43.28;
47.7)

Koṭi tīrtha *Koṭi tīrtha* *Koṭi tīrtha* *Koṭi tīrtha* *Koṭi tīrtha*
(43.44) (35.28) (111.14) (63.151)

Koṭi tīrtha *Koṭi tīrtha*
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Mānasa tirtha

Mānasa

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Mānasa

Mānasa

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Nāga

Nāga

Nāga

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Nirañjana

Nirañjana

Nirañjana

Nirañjana

Nirañjana

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(2018.578)

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Pīṭha (73.2)							
Prajāpati kṣetra (32.41)	Prajāpati kṣetra (11.39)		Prajāpati kṣetra 41.5; 48.14	Prajāpati kṣetra. (34.20)			
Pratiṣṭhāna (88.53)	Pratiṣṭhāna (4.46)	Pratiṣṭhāna (104.5)	Pratiṣṭhāna (39.72; 41.4; 43.31; 47.8) (samadhi- ṣṭhāna)	Pratiṣṭhāna (35.21)	Prati- ṣṭhāna (63.129)	Prati- ṣṭhāna (83.72)	
	Puṇya tīrtha (8.30)						
R							
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Rṇamocana (77.28)	Rṇapramocana tīrtha (5.21)	Rṇapramocana (107.20)		Rṇpramo- cana (36.14)		Rṇamo- cana (63.100)	
S							
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Śalmali tīrtha (88.49)	Śalmali (11.33)						
Samudra kūpa (88.53)	Samudra kūpa (4.47)	Samudra kūpa (106.30)	Samudra kūpa kūpa (43.31)				
Sandhyāvata (75.41)	Sandhyāvata (106.43)	Sandhyāvata (106.43)		Sandhyā- vata (35.27)		Sandhyā- vata (111.13)	

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KŪRMA P.

PADMA P.
(Svarga-Ādi)

MATSYA P.

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MĀHĀTMYA

ŚATĀDHYĀYĪ

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pulina
(63.142)Urvaśi-
pulina
(111.13)Urvaśi pulina
(35.25)Urvaśi pulina
(43.35)Urvaśīramana
(106.34)Urvaśī tirtha
(9.44)Varuṇa tirtha
(8.24)Vāsukihrada
(63.129)Vāsukihrada
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(Svarga-Ādi)

Mbh III.

NĀRA-
DĪYA P.

NOTES

1. 116 tirthas are given. Those underlined are not available in P. V. Kane's List of tirthas, *Hist. Dhs.* IV. 723-825.

1. 15 tirthas are given.
1. 13 tirthas are given.
1. 12 tirthas are given.
1. 6 tirthas are given.

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2. Particular divisions are :

(a) mention of Ūpamaṇḍala 10.1

(b) Pradhāna

tirthas

Apradhāna

tirthas (76.2)

(c) 8 Vaiṣṇava pīṭhas (73-75)

(d) Prayāga maṇḍala, vepikṣetra pañcakūṇḍa.

2. At Prayāga would gather:

(a) 60 crores, 10 th. tirthas (4.35)

(b) 30 crores, 10 th. (11.7)

(c) 3.5 crores (11.11)

(d) 3 crores, 10 th. (109, 11; 111, 16)

(e) 60 crores, 60 th. (106.7)

2. At Prayāga would gather:

(a) 60 crores, 10 thousand tirthas (39.80; 43.24)

(b) 30 crores, 10 thousand tirthas (47.3; 49.16)

(c) 3.5 crores, tirthas (47.7)

(d) 3 crores, 10 thousand (47.11)

(e) 60 crores, 60 th. (106.7)

2. At Prayāga would gather:

(a) 60 crores, 10 thousand tirthas (39.80; 43.24)

(b) 30 crores, 10 thousand tirthas (47.3; 49.16)

(c) 3.5 crores, tirthas (47.7)

(d) 3 crores, 10 thousand (47.11)

(e) 60 crores, 60 th. (106.7)

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(b) 30 crores, 10 thousand tirthas (47.3; 49.16)

(c) 3.5 crores, tirthas (47.7)

(d) 3 crores, 10 thousand (47.11)

(e) 60 crores, 60 th. (106.7)

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(a) 60 crores, 10 thousand tirthas (39.80; 43.24)

(b) 30 crores, 10 thousand tirthas (47.3; 49.16)

(c) 3.5 crores, tirthas (47.7)

(d) 3 crores, 10 thousand (47.11)

(e) 60 crores, 60 th. (106.7)

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3. <i>pañca-kuṇḍa</i> (33.42)	3. <i>pañca-</i> <i>kuṇḍa</i> (2.16)	3. <i>pañca-kuṇḍa</i> (103.12)	3. <i>tri-kuṇḍa</i> (39.69; 3. <i>pañca-</i> 47.4) (see Utt. kh. <i>kuṇḍa</i> (34. <i>ṛḍa</i> (111. <i>ḍa</i> (63.45) <i>ṛḍa</i> (III. 83.69)
	<i>tri-kuṇḍa</i> (11.8)	<i>tri-kuṇḍa</i> (109.4)	2)

4. The Modern. Review, 1910, mentions also "Seṣa nāga temple" and Alark (= modern Arail); no mention of them in our texts.

which although no longer existing, has still a grip on the popular imagination and devotion. Not to enlarge too much the description I shall limit my sources to the Śatādhyāyī.

TRIVENĪ

I. Mahātmya: Ś. 35.6-14

शेष उवाच ॥

मंत्राणां जीवनं बीजं जीवानां जीवनं यथा ।
तथा त्रिवेणी तीर्थानां जीवनं वीर्यवर्धनम् ॥ 6 ॥

ज्ञानसिद्धिकरी वेणी मोक्षसिद्धिकरीश्वरी ।
सर्वसंपत्करी देवी त्रिवेणी सेव्यतां सदा ॥ 7 ॥

वेणी कृन्तति पापानि पुण्यं त्वहनि वर्द्धते ।
विशेषतो भक्तिमतां कार्याकार्यं विजानताम् ॥ 8 ॥

न वेणी सदृशी काशी न वेणी सदृशी गया ।
न वेणी सदृशी शक्तिस्तीर्थेऽन्यत्रास्ति कुत्रचित् ॥ 9 ॥

कामधेनुरियं वेणी कामकल्पलता स्मृता ।
वेणी मोक्षस्य विख्याता सप्तपुर्योऽष्टमो पुरी ॥ 10 ॥

त्रिविधागतिजाताघ्नी पापत्रेविध्यनाशिनी ।
त्रैलोक्याशेषदोषघ्नी न समान्यास्ति कुत्रचित् ॥ 11 ॥

सरस्वती रजोरूपा तमोरूपा कलिन्दजा ।
सत्त्वरूपा च गङ्गा च नयन्ति ब्रह्मनिर्गुणम् ॥ 12 ॥

गङ्गा विष्णुपदी ज्ञेया यतो विष्णुपदोद्भवा ।
रविजा यमुना पुण्या तयोर्योगो ह्यनुत्तमः ॥ 13 ॥

एवं त्रिवेणी सामीप्यात् परानन्दमुपेयुषः ।
मनो मे नैति पातालेऽप्यरिक्ताखिलसंपदि ॥ 14 ॥

Ś. ib. 26-27, 32

यत्र यत्र च गच्छामि तत्र तत्रास्ति संमुखी ।
तं तं कामं ददातीयं यं यं कामं च कामये ॥ 26 ॥

किं तीर्थैः सेवितैरन्यैर्वह्नाया सकलप्रदेः ।
त्रिवेणी सेव्यतां सर्वैर्धर्मकामार्थमोक्षदा ॥ 27 ॥

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त्रिकूटाद् भूता त्रिगुणरचिता त्र्यक्षरमयी ।
 त्रिधामात्रा भूत्वा त्रिविधपथगा त्र्यम्बकवती ।
 त्रिवेणी निश्रेणी हरिचरणसान्निध्यजननी ।
 पुनन्ती त्रैलोक्यं त्रिभुवनविभूषा विजयते ॥32॥

§. 35.6-14

- “6. Śeṣa said: The seed (bīja) is the life of the mantra-s as life is of the living beings, so in the same way Trivenī is the life of the tīrtha-s, increasing their strength.
7. Veṇī gives the complete attainment of knowledge, the complete attainment of mokṣa; she is powerful giver of all success, a goddess; Trivenī is to be always venerated.
8. Veṇī destroys sins and increases merit every day, specially of the devotees who know what has to be done and what has not to be done.
9. Kāśī is not like Veṇī, Gaṅgā is not like Veṇī. Nowhere, in any other tīrtha, there is a power (śakti) like Veṇī.
10. This Veṇī is remembered as Kāmadhenu, as Kāmakaḥ-palatā. Veṇī is renowned as the 8th town of mokṣa after the seven ones.
11. She destroys the three kinds of conditions of existence, she destroys the three kinds of sins, she destroys all the faults in the three worlds; there is nobody similar to her anywhere.
12. Sarasvatī with her rajas-quality, Yamunā with her tamas-quality and Gaṅgā with her sattva-quality lead here (=at their confluence) to the nirguṇa Brahman.
13. Gaṅgā is to be considered Viṣṇu's river because born of Viṣṇu's feet (and) Yamunā is born of Sūrya; their conjunction, is highly auspicious.
14. Supreme happiness (I got) from approaching Trivenī. My mind would not go to Pātāla nor even to heaven where there all abundant enjoyments”.

§. ib. 26-27, 32

- “26. Wherever I go (Trivenī) is present, whatever I desire she bestows it.

27. What is the use of going to those thīrta-s that bestow fruits after much effort ? Trivenī is to be honoured by all; she bestows dharma, kāma, artha, mokṣa.

32. She was born of the mountain Trikūṭa (=having three peaks); she is composed of three guṇa-s; she is made of three letters. She has three streams, each possessing one mātṛā. She is attached to the god Śiva (one who has three eyes).

Trivenī is the staircase to Hari's feet. She is purifying, splendour of the three worlds, she wins the three worlds"

The Venī is nirguṇa and saguṇa, like Brahman⁹⁰, and she is identified with the Supreme God of Prayāga, Mādhava himself. To him and to her united as Venīmādhava a pūjā should be offered.⁹¹ In several places we find prayers and stuti-s to her⁹², that a pilgrim should keep in mind and recite while staying at Prayāga. The following are only some specimens :

II Dhyāna-stuti :

DHYĀNA—Ś. 35.33

वेणीं ध्यायेत् त्रिवर्णां सितहरितलसत् रक्तवस्त्रां त्रिनेत्राम् ।
दोर्भिः शङ्खाब्जचक्रक्रमघृतसुगदां श्वेतपद्मासनस्थाम् ।
बालां भालेन्दुमालां कृतघृतमुकुटां ब्रह्मरुद्रेन्द्रवंद्याम् ॥
स्ताने कालत्रये यः स्मरति स हि पुमान् भुक्तिमुक्तीलभेत् ॥33॥

STUTI—Ś. 35.34-39

ब्रह्मरुद्रेन्द्रनमिते सर्वसिद्धसुसेविते ।
त्रिकूटमिलिते मातर्नमो वेण्यै नमो नमः ॥34॥

गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये गोचरे संधिबन्धुरे ।
अक्षयमोक्षलतिके तुभ्यं वेण्यै नमो नमः ॥35॥

प्रयागतीर्थराजस्य करपल्लवमालिके ।
अक्षयाक्षरजापस्य विधानफलदे नमः ॥36॥

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां भूमिके भुवि विश्रुते ।
वेणि त्वं पाहि मां साक्षाद् दृष्टे स्पृष्टेऽवगाहिते ॥37॥

90. See Ś. 35.

91. See Ś. 44-45

92. See Ś. 35. 53-56; 39. 20-23 etc.

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सर्वांगमेषु विख्याते सर्वतीर्थवरप्रदे ।
 जीवानां कल्पलतिके वेणी मातर्नमो नमः ॥३८॥
 त्वं मोक्षलक्ष्मीस्त्वमतिप्रभासि त्वं ब्रह्मनाडी चरनाडिगाऽसि ।
 त्वं ब्रह्ममायासि विचित्रगासि प्रत्यक्षरूपासि नमो नमस्ते ॥३९॥

DHYĀNA

“33. He should recollect the three-coloured Venī, dressing in white, green and bright red cloths, three-eyed, carrying a good mace, followed by a succession of a conch, a lotus, a wheel, sitting on a seat of white lotus, having a mālā of Moons on her forehead, carrying a diadem, worthy to be praised by Brahmā, Rudra and Indra.

He who remembers (her) during bath, taken three times, that man can get enjoyment and mokṣa.”

STUTI

- “34. O you, who are saluted by Brahmā, Rudra, Indra, who are praised by all the siddha-s, who are connected with the mount Trikūṭa, O mother, salutation to you. Salutation.
35. To you, O Venī, O you who abide in the middle of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, who are inclined to conjunction, O winding tendril of indestructible mokṣa, salutation.
36. O you, who are like a garland in the hand of Prayāga Tīrtharāja, you who give the fruit of the recitation of the immortal mantra-s, salutation.
37. O place of dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa, famous in the world, you Venī, protect me, if I see you, or touch you or take a bath in you.
38. O you spoken of in all the Āgama-s, O you bestowing the benefits of all the tīrtha-s, O ‘kalpalatā’ (= creeper granting all desires) of the living creatures, O mother Venī, salutation.
39. You are the Lakṣmī of mokṣa, you are super splendid, you are the Suṣumnā, you exist in all the active nerves, you are Brahmā’s māyā, you have a various course, you have a visible form, salutation.”

Brahmā knowing the greatness of Prayāga built here his 'vedi' for the aśvamedha before creation.⁹³ So Trivenī is the ultimate cause of Prayāga's fame. As Trivenī derives her name from the three rivers meeting at that point, so a pilgrim should recall the greatness, and praise the bounty of Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, which are identified with the yogic Īdā, Piṅgalā and Suṣumnā respectively.⁹⁴

III. Utpatti

Besides the mähātmya-s of the three rivers, we find also the kathā-s of their birth and the rules for their pūjā in the Śatādhyāyī. The most interesting is the *Yamunotpatti*, which is given in the Appendix No. 1. *Gaṅgotpatti* instead is similar to the one found in many other books and needs not to be reproduced here.⁹⁵ As for the *Sarasvatyutpatti* given in Ś. 96-97.11, Sarasvatī is described there not as a river but as Vāḍava's nurse, so the whole utpatti seems to be somewhat out of place.⁹⁶

AKṢAYA-VATA

The Akṣaya-vaṭa (Banyan tree) is the other centre of Prayāga. As it was cut down by Akbar around 1584, its description in our texts or its absence can constitute a good hint as to the time of their composition. So the *Tristhalisetu*, written in 1560 A.D., mentions suicide by falling from the Akṣaya-vaṭa :

Mātsye :

वटमूलं समाश्रित्य यस्तु प्राणान् परित्यजेत् ।
सर्वलोकानतिक्रम्य रुद्रलोकं स गच्छति ॥

"He who having approached the Vaṭamūla abandons his life, having passed through all the heavens, goes to Rudraloka."⁹⁷

93. See Ś. 8.11ff; 32. 29 38 etc.

94. See Ś. 99.52 हठयोगोक्तेडापिङ्गलामुष्मनारूपपारिभाषिकनदीत्रयसङ्गमस्थानम् यथा । Haṭhayogapradīpikā 3.14, quoted in Śabdalpadruma s. v. Trivenī. The idea under it is perhaps that Prayāga is inside ourselves; our inner world and the external world constitute in fact one and the same reality.

95. See Ś. 94-95.

96. See also Ś. 34.21-24 for Gaṅgā; id. 25-30 for Yamunā and id. 31-48 for Sarasvatī.

97. p. 48. The śl. is quoted from Kūrma (see 35.8) and not from Matsya 105.11 which has समासाद्य instead of समाश्रित्य.

And so does also the Prayāga Māhātmya.⁹⁸ Both the texts therefore seem to have been composed at a time when suicide under the vaṭa was still possible and encouraged.⁹⁹ Instead the Śatādhyāyī does not mention any suicide at the Akṣaya-vaṭa's feet; it describes the tree (Vaṭamūla Ś. 32.6) as being large 5 yojana-s (32.8) and with hyperbolic attributes.¹⁰⁰ This seems to signify that at Śatādhyāyī's time the Vaṭa did not exist and only a tradition was transmitted about it, which was already enlarged and somewhat transformed into a myth.

Māhātmya

The Vaṭa's Māhātmya is described in the following passage (Ś. 72 passim) : One day Brahmā's four children, Sanaka etc. went to the Vaikuṇṭha, where they were asked by Viṣṇu what wonders they had seen in the universe. They answered that besides him the only wonder they had seen was a big vaṭa at Prayāga:

पञ्चयोजनविस्तारः शतशाखो महाद्रुमः ।
मूलं न दृश्यते तस्य सप्तपातालगा जटाः ॥11॥
पत्राणि रुक्मवर्णानि फलानि मधुराणि च ।
वेङ्कयं सन्निभा छाया उपर्यस्तो न विद्यते ॥12॥
तन्मूले कोऽपि पुरुषस्तेजः पुञ्जान्वितो महान् ।
दृष्टश्चतुर्भुजः सग्वी श्यामः पीताम्बरावृतः ॥13॥

"11. A big tree five yojana-s long having a hundred branches. His base is not visible, his roots reach the seven Pātāla-s.

12. The leaves are gold-coloured and the fruits sweet. The shadow resembles jewels and moreover it has no end.

13. At its base is seen a man, adorned with great splendour, great, four-handed, wearing garlands, having a dark complexion, dressed in yellow clothes."

98. 4.21, which takes it from the Matsya but modifies it changing Rudra with Śiva. The Śivaitic flavour of the śloka, surely belonging to bardic tradition, which affirms that Śiva stays at Prayāga as vaṭa is out of place in a text which claims to be Vaiṣṇava and clearly states that the vaṭa is sacred to Mādhava (see Ś. 72.16-17).

99. The Tristhalīsetu devotes the pp. 47-55 to discuss the problem of suicide at Prayāga explaining the different ways of giving up one's own life.

100. Ś. 32.8-10 : see also what is quoted below.

Having received this answer, Viṣṇu reveals to them the nature of that tree :

प्रयागं वैष्णवं क्षेत्रं वैकुण्ठादधिकं मम ।
वृक्षोऽक्षयवटस्तत्र मदाधारो विराजते ॥16॥

मूले यः पुरुषो दृष्टः सोऽहमक्षयमाधवः ।
वटमाधवनामापि मूलमाधव इत्यपि ॥17॥

सर्वरूपाणि संहृत्य बालरूपधरस्ततः ।
ब्रह्माण्डमुदरे कृत्वा शयेतोऽक्षयपादपे ॥23॥

तस्याहं कल्पवृक्षस्य स्वरूपं वेद्मि नापरः ।
प्रपञ्चबीजभूतस्य तद्वः सर्वे निरूपितम् ॥24॥

- “16. Prayāga is a Vaiṣṇava kṣetra, superior to my Vaikuṇṭha. There is illustrious the Akṣaya-vata tree, my support.
17. The man seen at its base it is me, Akṣayamādhava. The name is also Vaṭamādhava and Mūlamādhava.
23. Having annihilated in me all the forms, then having put inside (in my interior) the universe, in the form of a boy I am sleeping here at the feet of the Akṣaya.
24. I and no other know the nature of this Kalpavṛkṣa, which is the seed of the expansion of the universe. To you all this has been discovered.”

In this way Brahmā's sons were satisfied and went home. Sūta then comments :

तस्मादेवंविधो वृक्षो नास्ति ब्रह्माण्डगोलके ।
अतोऽर्चयन्त्यमुन्देवा मनुष्याणां तु का कथा ॥26॥

तस्मान्मुनिवरा यूयमेनं पूजयताक्षयम् ।
येऽभ्येऽपि पूजयिष्यन्ति प्राप्स्यन्ते ते मनोगतम् ॥27॥

यात्रार्थमागता ये वै नरा नार्थो मलाशयाः ।
संपूज्य प्रार्थयन्त्येते लभन्ते फलमक्षयम् ॥28॥

सृष्टिकर्ता यदा ब्रह्मा न लोके सृष्टिसाधनम् ।
तदाक्षयवटं चैनं पूजयामास कामदम् ॥29॥

ततोऽक्षयां सृष्टिर्दृष्टि लोके ब्रह्मा द्विजोत्तमाः ।
सृष्टिं चकार सोऽक्षयामण्डजादिचतुर्विधाम् ॥30॥

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ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रा नार्यश्च सत्तमाः ।
 पूजनादस्य संसिद्धिं यास्यन्त्यत्र न संशयः ॥31॥
 तस्य रूपं प्रवक्ष्यामि गुणत्रयमयं च तत् ।
 तं कल्पवृक्षमित्याहुरपरे वेदसंज्ञकम् ॥36॥
 प्रणवं केचिदित्याहुर्मायावृक्षमथापरे ।
 प्रधानपुरुषं केचित् केचित्संसृतिकारणम् ॥37॥
 विश्वेश्वरस्त्रिशूलाग्रे काशीमारोप्य सत्वरम् ।
 तिष्ठति प्रलये यस्य मूले नृत्यन्प्रहर्षितः ॥38॥
 तस्मिन्काले वहे सर्वे प्रार्थयन्तीममक्षयम् ।
 पूजयन्ति नमस्यन्ति गृणन्ति च पुरः स्थिताः ॥39॥
 वटस्य प्रणिपातेन सर्वदेवप्रियो भवेत् ।
 वटस्य ध्यानमात्रेण सर्वे ध्याता न संशयः ॥40॥
 गंगायमुनयोर्मध्ये यावत्षट् कूलदर्शनम् ।
 तावत्क्षेत्रं वटस्यास्ति तदक्षयमुदाहृतम् ॥41॥
 नमस्ते वृक्षराजाय ब्रह्माविष्णुशिवात्मक ।
 सप्तपातालसंस्थाय विचित्रफलदायिने ॥42॥
 नमो भेषजरूपाय मायायाः पतये नमः ।
 माधवस्य जलक्रीडालोलपल्लवकारिणे ॥43॥
 प्रपञ्चबीजभूतस्य विचित्रफलदाय च ।
 नमस्तुभ्यं नमस्तुभ्यं नमस्तुभ्यं नमो नमः ॥44॥¹⁰¹

- "26. There is no such a tree in the globe Brahmāṇḍa. So the deva-s honour it, what to say of men ?
 27. Therefore you, o best among muni-s, worship this immortal (tree). Also those others, who worship it, will get their desire.
 28. Those men indeed and women, recipient of feculent matter, who, having come for a pilgrimage, pray having worshipped it, obtain an imperishable fruit.
 29. When Brahmā, the Creator, did not obtain the means of effecting creation, worshipped this Akṣaya-vaṭa which bestows desires.

101. Ś. 73.1-9 describes the pūjā to be done to the vaṭa. The description is very short.

30. Then, o best of dvīja-s, Brahmā obtained the insight of creation; he accomplished the indestructible fourfold creation, i. e. the egg-born etc...
31. Brāhmaṇa-s, Kṣatriya-s, Vaiśya-s, Śūdra-s and the best women get final emancipation by worshipping it; there is no doubt.
36. I shall describe its nature, which is made of three guṇa-s. Some call it Kalpavṛkṣa, while others call it the Veda.
37. Some call it Praṇava (=the sacred syllable 'Om'), others the tree of Māyā. Some call it Pradhāna-puruṣa (=matter, spirit), cause of the mundane existence.
38. Viśveśvara, having fixed quickly Kāśī on the top of his triśūla, greatly delighted remains dancing at its roots at pralaya.
39. At that time all sitting on the Akṣaya-vaṭa pray this immortal tree; they worship it and bow down to it.
40. By humble reverence to the vaṭa one becomes dear to all the deva-s. By simply meditating on the vaṭa, all (devas) are meditated on, there is no doubt.
41. The sight of as many as 6 kūla-s in the middle of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā is Vaṭa-kṣetra; that is called Akṣaya.
42. Salutation to the king of trees, o you who have the shape of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, (salutation to the one who resides in the seven Pātāla-s, and who is the bestower of various fruits.
43. Salutation to the one who has the form of a medicinal plant. Salutation to Māyā's husband. Salutation to you who help Mādhava to play in water with the help of moving leaves.
44. To the one who is the seed of the transitory mundane existence, and who is the giver of various fruits: salutation to you, salutation to you, salutation to you."

Near this tree Śiva dances and Mādhava also out of happiness joins him in his cosmic dance.¹⁰² Although creation is not explicitly mentioned in this context, it is not out of place to

102. See §.9 specially §1. 1-14.

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remember what the word dance implies in the "Śaiva" context and what has already been said about Brahmā's sacrifice to get creative power. The Kāśī khaṇḍa (7.52) says that Hiraṇyagarbha has the shape of vaṭa. So from all this appears the centrality of the Akṣaya-vaṭa, even when most probably it had already disappeared.¹⁰³ It is moreover apparent how the author tries to draw the attention from the tree as a biological reality to Mādhava himself, its deity. The devotee is not requested to venerate the tree in itself but to unite its pūjā to the one performed to Mādhava by many gods.¹⁰⁴ So even this tīrtha is interpreted in spiritual light according to the general tendency we have described above.

At Prayāga, besides the tīrtha-s there are also *innumerable gods*,¹⁰⁵ as the Mahābhārata, followed by all the Purāṇa-s, attests. Prayāga therefore should be conceived as a kind of svarga, or better a sum of svarga-s, where reside the gods and their devotees. At the same time Tīrtharājā is also the centre of the world, as we have seen, and the place which remains for ever, even at the time of the universal conflagration; there in fact resides Mādhava himself, the creator and destroyer. Prayāga is therefore the *eternal point, source and end of all*.

The holy tīrtha, moreover, is the means and the condition for *mukti*.¹⁰⁶ Gods and men, tīrtha-s and animals come here to disappear in the mukti i.e. in Brahman. Prayāga therefore transcends itself, being the door through which every one has to pass to enter the unspeakable and unrepresentable mokṣa.

c. Observances

The pilgrim, who 'bhaktipūrvaka', full of devoted faith, undertakes the pilgrimage to Tīrtharājā, once arrived has to follow a strict ritual and observances. He has not gone to Prayāga as a tourist but as hankerer after purification and mokṣa. The books we are studying, specially the Prayāga Māhātmya-s, give the details of what a devotee should perform in the holy city. The

103. The persistence of the cult and devotion to it is attested also by the article 'Prayag or Allahabad' in 1910.

104. See Ś. 73.1-9.

105. See Ś. 32.19-27; 34.18-20; cf. Mbh. III. 35.70ff and P. V Kane, *op. cit.*, IV. 600.

106. see Ś. 4.42; 36.48 etc. and several Purāṇa-s.

observances, of course, vary from book to book and from epoch to epoch, it would be therefore impossible here to follow all of them. I think that, if a choice has to be made, we should give particular importance to the most recent, because they prescribe practices which supposedly are still observed nowadays. I will therefore summarize what is prescribed in the '*Śatādhyāyī*', in the article '*Prayag or Allahabad*' and the '*Kumbha parva mātmya*', which seem to be representative of the modern views.

The Ś. stresses first of all the need of undertaking the pilgrimage to Prayāga, because life is useless even if full of tapas, vidyā and richness, if one does not go to Tirtharājā.¹⁰⁷ Going and remaining some days is extremely meritorious. Our books insist on the necessity of remaining at least one night or three nights.¹⁰⁸ The Ś. 36. 23-48 speaks of the ways of remaining at Prayāga:

एकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं वा पञ्चरात्रमथापि वा ।

सप्तरात्रं च पक्षं वा मासं वा ऋतुमेव वा ॥45॥

त्रिमासं वाथ षण्मासं वत्सरं माघवाज्ञया ।

यावज्जीवमविच्छिन्नं यद्वा वसति धर्मतः ॥46॥

वासोयं दशधा प्रोक्तस्तत्र तत्र यथोत्तरम् ।

कामिकं फलमाप्नोति मुक्तिरेकादशे भवेत् ॥47॥

"One day, three days, or also five days as well as seven days, a fortnight or a month or just a season (= 2 months), or three months, six months, a year by Mādhava's order:

This is the so-called tenfold habitation following in regular order and he who lives an uninterrupted life out of dharma obtains the desired result : there is mukti in the eleventh (habitation)."

Tradition has so much exalted the necessity of remaining one month at Prayāga that living there for such a period is described as giving the same merits as those acquired by Brahmā in his entire

107. Ś. 33.39-43.

108. The three days permanence has been exalted in the Purāṇa-s, see ex.g. Padma, Utt. kh. (ASS) 246 Nārada P. II. 63.75ff and specially Tristhalīsetu pp. 33-34.

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life (=kalpa); therefore *Prayāga-kalpavāsa* is praised and encouraged.¹⁰⁹ Although practices are prescribed for those who stay at Prayāga, yet living itself is meritorious.¹¹⁰

अस्मिन् क्षेत्रे विना ज्ञानं विना चेंद्रियनिग्रहं ।

विना योगं विना ध्यानं विना व्रतसमाधिभिः ॥35॥

विना दानं विना वित्तं विना वह्निनिषेवणम् ।

विना यज्ञं विना सांख्यं विना कायस्य शोषणम् ॥36॥

कृत्वातिकृच्छ्रपराकतप्तकृच्छ्रादिकं विना ।

वासमात्रेण मच्चित्तः प्राप्यते मुक्तिरुत्तमा ॥37॥

"In this place the supreme mukti is obtained by those who think of me, without jñāna, without sense-restraining, without yogā, without dhyāna, without vrata-s and intense contemplation, without dāna-s, without wealth, without using fire, without yajña, without destroying the body, without kṛchra, atikṛchra, parāka, taptakṛchra etc.¹¹¹, but by residing alone."

This attitude fits well the modern way of thinking, when the religious observances and faith are getting lower and lower. But it is not followed consequently in our books and the Ś. is in fact full of prescriptions to be strictly observed. Now and then, any how, the above mentioned attitude is resumed to mitigate the rules. This seems to signify that the Ś. has a spiritual understanding of the pilgrimage i. e. it aims at something more than mere external practices and on the other it makes concessions to the people who found it difficult to follow all the prescriptions.

109. see Venīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa, *Prayāga kalpavāsa*, Benares, 1954.

'ब्रह्मा के उस महत्त्वपूर्ण ब्रह्मलोक में कल्पवास के फल को प्राप्त करने के लिये ही पुराणादि शास्त्रों में प्रयाग में माघमास में एक मास पर्यन्त 'कल्पवास' करना लिखा है। अतः सिद्ध है कि जो मनुष्य श्रद्धा-भक्तिपूर्वक सविधि प्रयाग में माघमास में एक मास पर्यन्त 'कल्पवास' करता है। वह अवश्यमेव ब्रह्मा के चतुर्युग सहस्ररूपी कल्पवास का फल प्राप्त करता है। (p. 2)

Note that the Tristhatīsetu (pp. 16-17) speaks of Prayāga-vāsa but thus not call it Kalpa-vāsa. See also Matsya 103.17.

110. Ś. 9. 35-37; 36.23-48.

111. These terms refer to different kinds of penances, see P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, IV. pp. 132ff.

Once the pilgrim reaches the holy city he has first to prostrate completely (śaṣṭāṅgapraṇāma), then he should praise in turn the three rivers separately, the Akṣaya-vatā, the Mādhavakṣetra and has to give special honour to Bhairava and the other gods. He has then to wash his hands, feet and face with water taken from the tīrtha, make twice ācamana and offer arghya. He should then take a bath with all his clothes on and make the saṅkalpa.¹¹² The rites are prescribed in full detail; the pilgrim is guided at every step and moment so that whatever he does may help him reach his goal. Particular attention in this context is given to the right moment of entering the town, fixed by astrology.¹¹³ Once the pilgrim is inside the tīrtha he has to visit the holy places, eat only vegetables (so, avoid even sweets ex. g.), remain brahmacārī and observe several practices. For clarity's sake I will gather whatever has to be done by him under the following topics :

I. Snāna

Bath is the main item, to be taken at least three times a day and prescribed at any sub-tīrtha. It can be done either according to the usual rules, or with special prescriptions and special purpose laid down in our books. The most important baths are those to be taken on special occasions or tithi-s like makara saṅkrānti, māgha kṛṣṇa caturthī, dvādaśī, caturdaśī, amāvāsyā, māgha śukla caturthī, pañcamī, aṣṭamī, ekādaśī, pūrṇimā mahāmaghī.¹¹⁴ But particularly meritorious are three days. Although not the same in all the books, they can be fixed as Makara saṅkrānti, Amāvāsyā, Vasanta pañcamī.¹¹⁵ As the rules for Māghasnāna can be found in every Purāṇa dealing with such topics and in hundred of booklets available in the market there is no need of setting them out here.¹¹⁶ For the Kumbha melā the following rules can also be observed:¹¹⁷ The devotee, having reached the river, should make

112. Ś 39.1-38.

113. ib. Śl. 3-4.

114. Which takes place when Saturn is in Meṣa, the Moon and Jupiter in Simha and the Sun in Śrāvaṇa-nakṣatra, see S. 51.1-57.

115. See Tristhalisetu p. 33 and P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, IV. 617.

116. One can consult Ś. 49.9-29.

117. See Veṇīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa, *Kumbhavarva mahātmya*, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

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the shape of a kumbha with both his hands¹¹⁸ and recall the nectar and in so doing he should bath reciting the following śloka-s:

देव-दानवसम्वादे मथ्यमाने महोदधौ ।
 उत्पन्नोऽसि तदा कुम्भं विधृतो विष्णुना स्वयम् ॥
 त्वत्तोये सर्वतोर्थानि देवाः सर्वे त्वयि स्थिताः ।
 त्वयि तिष्ठन्ति भूतानि त्वयि प्राणाः प्रतिष्ठिताः ॥
 शिवः स्वयं त्वमेवासि विष्णुस्त्वं च प्रजापतिः ।
 आदित्या वसवो रुद्रा विश्वेदेवाः सपैतृकाः ॥
 त्वयि तिष्ठन्ति सर्वेऽपि यतः कामफलप्रदाः ।
 त्वत्प्रसादादिमं स्नानं कर्तुमीहे जलोद्भव ॥
 सान्निध्यं कुरु मे देव प्रसन्नो भव सर्वदा ॥

Once the bath is over he should offer a pūjā to the kumbha and then offer according to his capacity one or four or eleven or 41 kumbha-s full of ghee to brāhmaṇa-s.

II. Dāna

The devotee is requested to present gifts not only after the kumbha snāna, but also in several other occasions. Ś. 53-64 deals with this topic at length. The dāna-s are divided into the following categories: (Ś. 53.1-41) dharma dāna, kāma dāna, lajja dāna, harṣa dāna, bhaya dāna, nitya, madhya, adhama dāna, sāttvika, rājasika, tāmasika dāna, dāna, atidāna, mahādāna etc.

Then some dāna-s are particularly prescribed :

Lakṣadīpa dāna (Ś. 12. 45-54)	Sarvaśva dāna (Ś. 61-62)
Kiñcidāna (Ś. 8. 11-65)	Phala dāna (Ś. 63.1-15)
Daśa dāna (Ś. 46. 22-36)	Tambūla dāna (Ś. 63.16-64 50)
Anna dāna (Ś. 57. 9-47)	Godāna, called also Mahādāna
Gupta dāna (Ś. 58-60)	(Ś. 55. 28-56. 64) ¹¹⁹

118. In the following way.

दक्षाङ्गुष्ठं परोङ्गुष्ठे क्षिप्त्वा हस्तद्वयेन च ।

सावकशां मुष्टिकां च कुर्यात् सा कुम्भमुद्रिका ॥

Veṇīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa, *op. cit.*, p. 34 fn.

119. It can be noted that while in Tristhalīsetu (p. 27) and Prayāga mähātmya (Veñk. 4.11-16) kanyādāna is also described as extremely meritorious at Prayāga, there is no mention of it in Ś., although it is used even nowadays, at least in the sense given by P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, II. 533.

For each of them special rules are laid down. As these divisions partly tally with the general rules for dāna-s as they appear in the literature on dāna-s,¹²⁰ we can consider these adhyāya-s as well as the ones on vrata-s, śrāddhā-s and pūjā-s, as a summary of the common doctrine on those topics. Nowadays the rules and specially the practice have changed in most cases. Gift, such as described in our texts, are mainly meant for rich persons. For the common men only small presents can be afforded. Yet the basic rules remain the same. An interesting evolution of the godāna is described in the article 'Prayag or Allahabad': 'The pilgrim makes his first small gift to the Pragwal when he offers his flowers and milk and cocoanut (if available—if not, its price in copper). The first two are poured unto the sacred stream. The fruit and the money go to the Panda. The pilgrim is also required to make a gift of a cow to his priest. But as every pilgrim cannot afford to give a cow, he goes through the ceremony nominally. A cow is brought, the pilgrim touches the tail of the animal and a saṅkalpa is recited by the Panda and the gift of the cow is thereby completed. A nominal price of the cow...is paid to the cowman...the remainder going to the Panda.' (p. 656).

This passage stresses the importance and the role of the priest at a tīrtha. There are, of course, several types of priests according to their functions. 'The priest who officiates at the ablutions and religious observances of the pilgrims at the Trivenī are called 'Pragwals'. The monopoly they enjoy of being the exclusive recipients of the gifts of pilgrims to Prayag was granted by Akbar, according to a local tradition, to an ancestor of the Pragwals. It is said that the first attempts to lay the foundation of the Fort were unsuccessful owing to the floods in the rivers in the rainy season. The sacrifice of a Brahman was the remedy suggested to avert the evil. A local Panda offered himself on condition that his clan should have the sole right of officiating as priests at the Trivenī. After this human sacrifice the foundations defied the force of the streams and the Emperor ratified the grant to the representatives of the victim. In Hiuen Tsang's account...mention is made of resident priests as being given preference over those who come from outside.'¹²¹

120. See P. V Kane, *op. cit.*, II. 837ff.

121. See also P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, IV. 578-81.

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This description of the priests reminds one also of another important duty of a pilgrim and of almost all the devotees at the end of their practices, i. e. the feeding of the brāhmaṇa-s. The tradition is as old as the veda-s and, as is well known, is still practiced nowadays, even if on a small scale.

III. Vrata

Vrata-s (=vows), more than any other observance, are extremely personal. Hinduism is based on vrata-s; so no wonder if even at Prayāga are prescribed or recommended some of them, which should help the pilgrim keep up his fervour and acquire new merits. Vrata s are kept, of course, specially on particular tithi-s; so the list of tithi-s given above, can be considered also as a list of vrata s. They are divided, as in all the treatises on the subject, into 'nitya, naimittika, kāmya, nityakāmya'.¹²² Special stress is laid on ekādaśī, a feature which is peculiar to several Purāṇa-s. As in our present days ekādaśī is one of the most popular vrata-s, specially among women, it will not be out of place if I transcribe its 'utpatti' in Appendix No. 2.

I think this kathā of the 'ekādaśī-utpatti' is of interest for understanding the Hindu attitude towards not only the vrata-s in general, but also the Tirthayātrā-s. The story in fact stresses that all rites a pilgrim performs, all vows he accomplishes derive their power from God himself, even if he seems to be outside the picture. 'Ekādaśī' (personified) in this kathā could overcome the evil not by herself but by Viṣṇu's śakti and instrument. In the same way every vrata and every pilgrimage is not only a human effort towards purification or mukti, but is a divine power given to men by God himself for their salvation.

I should add here a word on *religious suicide* at Prayāga. But as this problem has, at present, almost only an historical value, I leave it.¹²³

A particular vrata, which is performed specially at tirtha-s is the 'munḍana' (=shaving the hairs), also for women. We have already spoken about it in the previous pages, so there is no need of repeating it.

122. Ś. 65; see P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, V. 56ff.

123. It can be studied in P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, II. 924-28; III. 939, 948-49; IV. 603-614 and in some specialized books on suicide.

iv. Śrāddha-pūjā-yajña

Other important ceremonies to be performed at Prayāga are śrāddha-s, yajña-s, and several pūjā-s like ex.g. a pūjā with one lakh of flowers, the dampatī pūjā, the Rudrānuṣṭhāna etc.¹²⁴ The pūjā is nowadays the normal way of venerating a deity; it is therefore often prescribed in our sources. The aim of the pūjā-s and the items like japa, dhyāna joined to them, is the continuous plunging of the pilgrim into the religious world. Not a single moment spent at Prayāga should be left for profane activity. The pilgrim, whether he remains one day or one month, should always be in contact with God or his own ancestors, continuously engaged in performing religious ceremonies. Tīrtharājā is therefore transformed into a huge temple in which the devotee has to spend his time in full attention to gods who are its inhabitants. His hours and his steps are all marked by concrete acts of devotion. Pūjā-s, japa-s, śrāddha-s, muṇḍana, baths, dhyāna etc. are the actions in which he should be engaged at every instant. Really he has to transform his staying at Prayāga into a 'kalpa-vāsa', a kind of echo of Brahmā's life.

v. Reading or listening to the Purāṇa-s

A pilgrim at Prayāga should everyday recite or listen to some kathā taken from the Purāṇa-s; he should, of course, give preference to the Prayāga Māhātmya-s. The author of the article 'Prayāga or Allahabad' in 1900 testifies to the practice of reading or hearing the Prayāga Māhātmya.¹²⁵ He mentions the activities of 'professional Pandits who have daily audiences of groups of men and women who listen to their kathā-recitations with the expositions, they deliver from their platforms'. (p. 649) Such a practice is very common throughout the year also at Benares ex. g. where devotees ask professional Paṇḍits to recite for them the greatness of Kāśī, almost always in the evening. In this context special mention deserve to be made to the prescriptions given in the Śatādhyāyī about the recitation and listening to the Purāṇa-s. The śloka-s I am going to reproduce in the Appendix No 3 can be a valid

124. See Ś. 20-23 for śrāddha-s, Ś. 16 and 65 for Lakṣahoma and yajña; Ś. 10-11; 46. 10-21; 17.31-39 for the other pūjā-s.

125. see also Padma, Utt kh. (ASS) 245.16,23.

witness to a practice which, although still alive, is slowly dying out. The instructions given in it are valid for every situation, even outside Prayāga. Nowadays also the Purāṇa-s, or more often the Rāmāyaṇa (in northern India), are recited on some particular occasions, moreover single 'kathā-s' taken from the Purāṇa-s enter as an important component in many utsava-s or vrata-s. The rules given in the Appendix No.3 therefore are of extreme interest even for our present time. The mention made in it of those who blame the Purāṇa-s, a lament which is common to other texts too, shows how the practice of reading the Purāṇa-s was and is not accepted by all. As it is very improbable that all the objections could come from uneducated or irreligious people only, we have to suppose that the objectors were the supporters of the Veda-s. Even in the actual practice at Benares ex. g. it is not uncommon to hear recitations of both Veda-s and Purāṇa-s on the same footing. It is moreover a common practice to perform some ceremonies with both Vedic and Purāṇic mantra-s. According to the Ś. anyway every pilgrim at Prayāga should listen not to the Veda-s but to the Purāṇa-s and Prayāga Māhātmya.

d. Some features of the Pūrṇa Kumbha melā 1977

Although the rules given in the above pages, besides being given for Māghasnāna, can be considered valid for any Kumbha melā, yet each one has its own peculiarity. It is known that one of the sources for human behaviour, besides the Śruti and Smṛti, are the 'śiṣṭācāra-s',¹²⁶ it is important therefore to know how a concrete rule is shaped at a particular time.

Many things have developed since our texts were written; rules have been modified. So ex g. nowadays most people perform their pilgrimage by train, by bus, by car, many do not cut their hairs. The Akṣaya-vaṭa has since long disappeared, so only very vague acts of devotion can be done towards it; also gifts and the pūjā-s, as well as yajña-s, are quite reduced. And yet the atmosphere of Prayāga remains the same as centuries ago.

One of the aspects which remains almost unaltered is the gathering of all the Sampradāyavāda-s. Sādhu-s, sant-s, mahant-s continue to gather at Prayāga in their paṇḍala-s and akhāḍa-s or maṭha-s. Even nowadays they move in procession with great

126. cf. P.V. Kane, *op. cit.*, III, 825ff, Manu II. 6.

pomp on the most important days of the month. This year the pomp has been a little reduced by the Government to avoid tragedies like the one that took place in 1954, when hundreds of pilgrims were killed due to the rush and confusion caused by frightened animals employed for the big processions of the sādhu-s. In fact the Kumbha melā-s have been often the scene of unpleasant incidents. It is attested ex. g. that in 1760 A.D. at Haridvār Samnyāsi-s and Vairāgi-s had a very bitter quarrel, with the result that 1,800 people died. Just to avoid such intemperances the Government has now laid down an order of precedence to the satisfaction of everybody, it seems.¹²⁷

Every pilgrim at Prayāga is surely keen to see this great assembly which displays all the different religious movements of the country and gives a feeling of unity and majesty.

A particular feature of this year's melā is that the saṅgam between the Yamunā and Gaṅgā takes place in two slightly removed localities, as the Gaṅgā has been divided into two branches by the changing of its bed during the last monsoon. There are surely pilgrims who like to take a dip in both places.

As the crowds are now bigger than used to be, special arrangements have been made by the local authorities such as pontoon bridges, tented townships, hospitals etc. and cholera inoculation has been made compulsory, a team has been established to detect small pox etc.¹²⁸

Anyhow, if the way of performing the pilgrimage is now more adequate to our modern times, even now as in past centuries people gather at Prayāga to get purification of their sins and attain mukti.

127. The following is the order of precedence, generally followed at the time of bath. "At Haridvāra, Nirañjani Akhāḍa goes first accompanied by Junā, Ānanda and Āvāhan Akhāḍas. Next goes Nirvāṇi Akhāḍa accompanied by Aṭal. At Allahabad Nirvāṇi Akhāḍa accompanied by Aṭal goes first, then Nirañjani accompanied by Junā, Āvāhan and Ānanda. In Nāsika, Junā Akhāḍa goes first. In Ujjainī, all the Akhāḍas go in line". (R. S. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 9: Svāmī Sadānanda Giri, *Society and Sannyāsins*, p. 61).

128. see "The Hindusthan Times", Wednesday Dec. 8, 1976:

Conclusion

Prayāga and its Kumbha melā have been the main themes of this article. I tried to give an idea about them from the point of view both of the scholar and the devotee. The Kumbha melā is surely very old as it is already hinted at in the VII A.D. in the books of Huen Tsiang and Shaman Hwui Li. It seems to have started at Haridvār and then spread to Prayāga, Ujjain and Nāsik. Śaṅkarācārya is traditionally considered to have been its great propagator and to have transformed it into a sādhu melā. The Kumbha melā that recurs this year is just one sparkle of a great fire lit several centuries ago. The crowds nowadays are surely bigger than in the past; facilities of transport and increase of population make the participation more numerous. Now problems of lodging, food, sanitary organization have to be faced by the local administration. Perhaps more than in other times one perceives the social and religious impact such a gathering can have, specially if one considers the meetings, seminars, conventions etc. that also take place on such occasions.

Prayāga becomes, at least for one month, the greatest religious attraction for millions of people. The greatness of the Tīrtharājā, which seems to have been celebrated since Vedic times and is expressed in several Purāṇic texts, is spontaneously attested to by this huge gathering of persons; Prayāga is really one of the centres of Hindu devotion. It is not uncommon in India to see people moving from far to go on long and distant pilgrimages. Going to Prayāga every twelve years, taking a dip in the holy waters of the sarigam and having a darśana of the Triveṇī have become a must for millions of devotees. Tīrtharājā is therefore a centre of faith and prayer, where people can meet and realize that religion is still an affair of many.

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APPENDICES

No 1 YAMUNOTPATTI (Ś. 89-91)

Introduction—As it will appear from the first śloka-s of the following text, Yamunā is here identified with Yamī. In the beginning in fact the kathā is parallel to the story of Yama and Yamī, which is first narrated in R̥G X. 10 and resumed by some Purāṇa-s, as can be seen in Y. Matsunami's article in this same issue. But the resemblances with the Yama-Yamī kathā end here. Our text instead develops a long story about Yamunā as a river. This development seems to be unique in the whole Purāṇic literature.

ऋषय ऊचुः ।

वेदीत्रयस्य तीर्थानि वर्णितानि त्वयानघ ।
यमुनायाश्च माहात्म्यं श्रुत्वानन्दमुपागताः ॥ 1 ॥
इदानीं यमुनोत्पत्तिं श्रोतुमिच्छामहे वयम् ।
तत्सर्वं नः समाचक्ष्व सूत सर्वोपकारकः ॥ 2 ॥

सूत उवाच ॥

इममेव पुरा प्रश्नं सनकाद्या महर्षयः ।
शेषमापृष्टवन्तस्तान् स यथोचे तथोच्यते ॥ 3 ॥

शेष उवाच ॥

शृणुध्वं ब्रह्मतनया यमुनोत्पत्तिमादरात् ।
आगमं च प्रभावं च समुद्रान्तमहं ब्रुवे ॥ 4 ॥
विवश्वतश्च संज्ञायां त्वाष्ट्र्यां ववस्वतादनु ।
अपत्यं द्वन्द्वमुत्पन्नं श्रोतुः कल्मषनाशनम् ॥ 5 ॥
पूर्वं संज्ञा तपस्तेपे वरपुत्रेच्छया सती ।
तत्तपः सफलं कर्तुं ब्रह्मा तत्र समाययी ॥ 6 ॥

संज्ञोवाच ॥

आत्मानं दर्शयामास वरदोस्मीत्यम्यभाषत ।
प्रसन्नो यदि मे ब्रह्मान् धर्ममष्टाङ्गलक्षणम् ॥ 7 ॥

पुत्रमिच्छामि धर्मेण भास्करात् त्वत्प्रसादतः ।

ब्रह्मोवाच ॥

साक्षाद्दण्डधरो धर्मः सूर्या त्वयि भविष्यति ॥ 8 ॥

परित्रास्यति यो धर्ममधर्मं निहनिष्यति ।

इत्युक्त्वान्तर्द्वे ब्रह्मा संज्ञा वरमवाप्य च ॥ 9 ॥

सानन्दादित्यमभ्येत्य गर्भमाप सुमध्यमा ।

नियमेन परेणासौ गर्भं यावच्छतं समाः ॥ 10 ॥

धारयामास नियतं सुव्रता संयतेन्द्रिया ।

कदाचित्तां सहस्रांशुरालोक्यास्ताचलोपरि ॥ 11 ॥

आलभ्य च करैस्तप्तैरिदमाह रुषान्वितः ।

किमर्थं तप्यसे भीरु मुञ्च गर्भं चिरोषितम् ॥ 12 ॥

अतिखिन्नासि न हि मे धर्मज्ञा सहचारिणी ।

इत्युक्त्वा साकरैस्तप्ता संज्ञागर्भमथात्यजत् ॥ 13 ॥

सगर्भस्तत्करैः स्पृष्टः श्यामोभूत्वाऽपतद् द्विधा ।

पुत्रस्तु कठिनो भागो यम इत्युच्यते हि सः ॥ 14 ॥

द्रवरूपेण यमुना प्रसवोषः सुताभवत् ।

एवं तद्युगलापत्यं परमाश्चर्यकारकम् ॥ 15 ॥

निष्क्रान्तं जठरान्मातुरभवत्तदचेतनम् ।

अथागत्य सुपर्वाणो ब्रह्माविष्णुशिवादयः ॥ 16 ॥

स्वस्तिस्वस्तीति जल्पन्तस्तत्समावृत्य तस्थिरे ।

द्रुहिणोऽमृतमिश्राम्बुपरिकिलन्नेन पाणिना ॥ 17 ॥

पस्पर्शाथ स्वयं विष्णुः प्रविश्याजीवयद्वि तत् ।

ऐश्वर्यमदधात्तस्मिन्नीश्वरः स्वयमव्ययः ॥ 18 ॥

एवमन्ये सुपर्वाणः स्वप्रभावैरयोजयन् ।

ततः संप्राप्य संज्ञां स धर्मराजः समुत्थितः ॥ 19 ॥

श्यामः प्रभुर्लोहिताक्षश्चलत्कुण्डलमूर्द्धजः ।

तथैव यमुना श्यामा पद्मपत्रारुणक्षणा ॥ 20 ॥

स्वभासा भासयामास समस्तांस्तान्पुरःस्थितान् ।

यमञ्च यमुनाञ्चैव दृष्ट्वा देवाः सचेतनौ ॥ 21 ॥

ववृषुर्दिव्यकुसुमैर्नानावाद्यान्यवादयन् ।

सिद्धा किंपुरुषाश्चापि तुष्टुवुर्हर्षनिर्भराः ॥ 22 ॥

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जगुर्गन्धर्वमुख्याश्च ननृतुश्चाप्सरोगणाः ।
 प्रसेदुश्च दिशो वाता ववुर्मन्दं च मङ्गलम् ॥23॥
 ततः स्वाङ्गे समादाय ब्रह्माद्भुततनुं यमम् ।
 यमुनां चाच्युतः स्वाङ्गे आश्लिष्य परमादरात् ॥24॥
 देवर्षिगणसंयुक्तः सर्वसाधनसंयुतः ।
 संस्कारैर्योजयामास जातकर्मादिभिः क्रमात् ॥25॥
 ततस्तं संस्कृतं दृष्ट्वा ब्रह्मादित्यतनूद्भवम् ।
 अनुग्रहाय साधूनां निग्रहाय च पापिनाम् ॥26॥
 आधिपत्ये परेतानां लोकपालपदे तथा ।
 दण्डं समर्प्य तस्याथ यथावच्चाभ्यषेचयत् ॥27॥
 अभिषिच्य ततो वेधाः सूर्यपुत्रमशिक्षयत् ।
 यमोसि त्वं नियन्तासि मित्रोदासीनशत्रुषु ॥28॥
 यातनाभिः पापकृतस्त्वया शास्याः सदेव हि ।
 स्थानानि रौरवादीनि यातनानां तवाज्ञया ॥29॥
 श्वकाकगृध्राण्डालक्रव्यादैस्तव किंकरैः ।
 पापिनो निगृहीष्यन्ते क्रूरो पापैरहर्निशम् ॥30॥
 न कृपा भवता कार्या स्वपुत्रेऽप्यपराधिनि ।
 नियोगिनामयं धर्मः स्वनियोगैकपालनम् ॥31॥
 मृत्युः कालश्चित्रगुप्तः सहाया भवतस्त्रयः ।
 दक्षिणस्यां च ते वासो दिशि ख्यातो भविष्यति ॥32॥
 यानं ते कृष्णमहिषः शीघ्रगोस्तु मनोजवः ।
 एवं मदुक्तमखिलं देशकालोचितं कुरु ॥33॥

शेष उवाच ॥

इत्युक्तो वेधसा सोथ तथेत्युक्त्वा परेतराट् ।
 प्रणिपत्य उपामन्त्र्य तदादिष्टमथाकरोत् ॥34॥
 यमुनाप्यच्युतेनैवं संस्कृताथ सुशिक्षिता ।
 शंखाम्बुनाभिषिच्येनां त्वत्तो नान्यास्तिपावनी ॥35॥
 गच्छाश्वितोति पापा ये तान्पुनीह कृपावती ।
 जले स्थलेऽचले व्योम्नि पातालेऽप्यनिलेऽनले ॥36॥
 भविष्यति प्रसादान्मे तवाप्रतिहता गतिः ।
 अपि ब्रह्महणस्तापमपनेष्यसि सेविता ॥37॥

इत्थं जनार्दनवचांस्यवधार्य सौरी कृत्वा प्रदक्षिणमथप्रणिपत्य देवम् ।
सानन्दमेत्य पितरौ च सहोदरं सा पुण्यास्तपर्वतगता यमुना ववर्ध ॥ 38

इति पद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे प्रयागमहात्म्ये एकोनव्रतितमोऽध्यायः ॥

शेष उवाच ॥

कदाचित्स्वपदं गन्तुमामत्र्य पितरौ यमः ।
यमुनामब्रवीद्भक्त्या भगिन्येहि ममालयम् ॥ 1 ॥
लोकपालपदं प्राप्तं दुष्प्रापं यत्सुरैरपि ।
त्वं ममैश्वर्यमालोक्य परां प्रीतिं गमिष्यसि ॥ 2 ॥
अहं पत्या प्रजानां हि व्यादिष्टः पापनिग्रहे ।
तथैव च प्रतिज्ञातं मया कार्यं सदैव तत् ॥ 3 ॥

यमुनोवाच ॥

के के त्वया विनिर्ग्राह्याः पापिनस्तान् ब्रवीहि मे ।
श्रुत्वा यथेच्छया पश्चात् करिष्याम्यस्मि भास्करे ॥ 4 ॥

यम उवाच ॥

ब्रह्महा मद्यपश्चैव स्वर्णहृद्गुरुतत्पगः ।
महापापिन एते स्युस्तत्संसर्गी च पञ्चमः ॥ 5 ॥
त्यक्ताधीतश्च देवर्षिगुरुयज्ञादिनिन्दकः ।
नास्तिको व्यर्थकृशरमधुपायसमांसभुक् ॥ 6 ॥
विश्वस्तवालभृत्यस्त्रीतपस्वोब्रह्मघातकः ।
अगम्यगामिनोत्यघ्नः प्राप्तातिथिपराङ्मुखः ॥ 7 ॥
त्यक्तदोषकलत्रादिः स्त्र्यादिशुक्लोपजीवनः ।
क्रीतकन्यः कृतघ्नश्च साधुद्वेषी दुराशयः ॥ 8 ॥
एत उद्देशतः प्रोक्ता पापिनो बहवः परे ।
ये भविष्यन्ति यमुने निग्रहिष्यामि तानहम् ॥ 9 ॥

यमुनोवाच ॥

साक्षाद्धर्मोसि जातस्त्वं पितृभ्यामपि दारुणः ।
पापेष्वप्यधिकं कार्या समर्थैः सततं कृपा ॥ 10 ॥
स्वस्त्यस्तु गच्छ पन्थानः शिवास्ते सन्तु नित्यशः ।
अहं जलमयी भूत्वा ब्रजाम्यवनिमण्डलम् ॥ 11 ॥

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विनिग्राह्या त्वया भ्रातर्ये नराः पापकारिणः ।
 तानहं तारयिष्यामि नेष्यामि च सुरालयम् ॥12॥
 सप्तद्वीपान् समुद्रांश्च पावयन्त्यस्तपर्वतात् ।
 गच्छाम्यनुज्ञया विष्णो रुदयाद्रिं जगत्कृते ॥13॥
 इत्युक्तस्स तया भ्राता यमुनामब्रवीद्वचः ।
 यमुने कृपया पापानवश्यं तारयिष्यसि ॥14॥
 त्वया सहायं जाते हि कृपा कार्या सदा मयि ।
 आदिष्टं गच्छ पन्थानं यथेच्छं कुरु पावनि ॥15॥
 अप्यम्बुमात्रदानेन सत्कार्योहं त्वया स्वसः ।
 अहं च त्वद्गृहे यास्ये प्रतिसंवत्सरं सकृत् ॥16॥

यमुनोवाच ॥

एवमस्तु मदम्भोभिः स्नात्वा यस्त्वां दृढव्रतः ।
 दशभिश्च चतुर्भिश्च तर्पयिष्यन्ति नामभिः ॥17॥
 तेन हिंसापरो नित्यं हृतकल्को भविष्यति ।
 निरातङ्का भविष्यन्ति भवतो येषि पापिनः ॥18॥
 इत्यन्योन्यं समाभाष्य कृत्वा संविदमप्युभौ ।
 यथोक्तसाधनौ देवौ प्रयातौ यमुनायमौ ॥19॥
 यमो याम्यां पुरीं गत्वा यातनाभिरधार्मिकान् ।
 यातयामास सततं ततो दारुणकर्मभिः ॥20॥
 यमुनाम्बुवपुर्भूत्वा पुण्यतोयाभिनामिनि ।
 वैष्णवं योगमास्थाय सावतीर्णास्तपर्वतात् ॥21॥
 अर्घ्यादिकृतसत्कारा भित्वा चाम्बुनिधिं ततः ।
 संप्राप्य पुष्करद्वीपं पुष्करद्वीपवासिभिः ॥22॥
 पूज्यमानाविशेशाशु क्षीराब्धिं तेन सत्कृता ।
 निर्गत्याथ गता पुण्या शाकद्वीपमधिष्ठिता ॥23॥
 तमुत्तीर्यगता देवी दध्यब्धिमभिनन्दिता ।
 तेन संपूजिता भक्त्या क्रौञ्चद्वीपमथाविशत् ॥24॥
 तद्वासिभिः स्तुता सर्पिःसमुद्रमवतीर्य च ।
 कृतार्घ्या तेन निष्क्रम्य कुशद्वीपमभूषयत् ॥25॥
 तदालयैरर्चिताथ सुरोदधिमथाविशत् ।
 तेनादृताथ भित्वा तं शात्मलीद्वीपमाश्रिता ॥26॥

तदाश्रितैस्सेविताथ प्रविष्टेक्षुरसोदधिम् ।
 तेनापि मूर्ध्नि विधृता प्लक्षद्वीपमथागता ॥27॥
 तत्रस्थजनवृन्देन कृतार्घ्यं यथाविधि ।
 लवणाब्धिं समागत्य तत्पूजां प्रतिगृह्य च ॥28॥
 संप्राप्ता भारतं वर्षं जम्बूद्वीपस्य दक्षिणम् ।
 कर्मक्षेत्रमर्धमिष्टधर्मिष्टजनमिश्रितम् ॥29॥
 पदे पदे कृतार्घ्या सा ब्रह्मक्षेत्रे द्विजातिभिः ।
 पुनः क्षीराब्धिमासाद्य प्लक्षद्वीपं च पावनी ॥30॥
 तथेक्षुसागरं सौरी शात्मलीद्वीपमेव च ।
 सुराब्धिं च कुशद्वीपं घृतोदं क्रौञ्चसंज्ञिकम् ॥31॥
 द्वीपञ्च दधिमण्डोदं शाकद्वीपं पयोनिधिम् ।
 द्वीपं पुष्करसंज्ञं च स्वादूदकमथार्णवम् ॥32॥
 भित्त्वा यथाक्रमं सौरी पाययित्वा च सर्वशः ।
 लोकालोकगिरेः शृङ्गं समासाद्योदयाचलम् ॥33॥
 विवेशोषसि तिग्मांशुं निर्मला सा त्रयीमयी ।
 मातरं पितरं प्रीत्या तोषयामास पावनी ॥34॥
 इत्थं दिनेशतनया भित्त्वा सप्तोदघ्नीन् सरित् ।
 सप्तद्वीपांश्च सततं वर्तते सा यमस्वसा ॥35॥

मुनय ऊचुः ॥

विचित्रमिदमाख्यातं माहात्म्यं शमनस्वसुः ।
 भगवंस्तत्स्वरूपं तु श्रोतुमिच्छामहे वयम् ॥36॥

शेष उवाच ॥

त्रय्येषा ऋग्यजुःसाम्नामादित्य इति गीयते ।
 तत्स्वरूपा जगत्कर्म सन्तानैः प्रवर्तिका ॥37॥
 रसो यः परमाधारः सच्चिदानन्दलक्षणः ।
 ब्रह्मेत्युपनिषद्गेयं तदेव यमुना स्वयम् ॥38॥
 पावना यास्य जगतः सरिद्भूत्वा ससार तत् ।
 ऋगावती यजुर्वेदा सामवोचिर्महत्स्वना ॥39॥
 चतुर्मुखमुखाम्भोजमकरन्दरसावहा ।
 ज्ञानरूपा तु दधती सदा नारायणीं तनुम् ॥40॥

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विभ्रती मत्स्यकूर्मादिरूपाणि हरिसंयुता ।
 अपरित्यक्तशंखाब्जचक्रकौमोदकी स्वयम् ॥41॥
 सुवर्णपत्रासुगतिद्विजसंघसमावृता ।
 शंभोरम्भोमयीमूर्तिः खेटखट्वाङ्गधारिणी ॥42॥
 त्रयीमयी नदी सौरी ब्रह्मविद्या सुधावहा ।
 नारायणीश्वरी ब्राह्मी धर्ममूर्तिः कृपावती ॥43॥
 पावनी पुण्यतोयौघा सप्तसागरसंगता ।
 तापिनी यमुना यामी स्वर्गसोपानपद्धतिः ॥44॥
 कालिन्दी कालसलिला सर्वतीर्थमयी वरा ।
 नीलोत्पलदलश्यामा महापातकभेषजम् ॥45॥
 दैत्यारिर्विष्णुदयिता ह्यवारितर्गतिः सरित् ।
 शरणत्राणसंपन्ना सगुणा निर्गुणा गुणा ॥46॥
 एभिर्नामपदैर्यस्तां प्रभाते संस्मरेन्नरः ।
 नानापातकजालेभ्यो दूरस्थोपि विमुच्यते ॥47॥

ऋषय ऊचुः ॥

भगवन् सूर्यकन्यापि कालिन्दोत्थभिधा पुनः ।
 कथं प्राप्ता तदाचक्ष्व परं कौतूहलं हि नः ॥48॥

शेष उवाच ॥

जम्बूद्वीपे महाकायो गिरिराजो महाचलः ।
 अधोमुखः शयानोसौ धरणीधारणक्षमः ॥49॥
 पूर्वे क्षारोदधौ तस्य मग्नौ पादौ महातलौ ।
 सशिरस्कौ तथा हस्तौ प्रतीच्यां लवणार्णवे ॥50॥
 शृङ्गमेकं गिरेस्तस्य कलिन्द इति विश्रुतम् ।
 नानावनलताकीर्णं नानासिद्धेरधिष्ठितम् ॥51॥
 त्यक्त्वा क्षारोदधिं स्वाराद्यदा यातार्कनन्दिनी ।
 कृतार्घ्या सा तदा तेन प्रसन्ना यमुनाभवत् ॥52॥
 वरं ब्रूहीति तं प्राह प्रसन्नास्मि तवाचल ।
 काम्येषु विविधार्थेषु यमिच्छसि वृणुष्व तम् ॥53॥

कलिन्द उवाच ॥

ममोदरं प्रविश्य त्वं गच्छ चादित्यनन्दिनि ।
कालिन्दीति समाख्यातिरस्तु लोकत्रये तव ॥54॥

अनपत्यस्य लोका वै न भवन्ति सनातनाः ।
विख्यातिश्च भवेन्नैव तेन त्वामर्थयाम्यहम् ॥55॥

तथेत्युक्त्वा तु यमुना कलिन्दाचलमूर्द्धनि ।
समारुह्य जगामाग्रे कालिन्दोति ततोऽभवत् ॥56॥

एवं बहूनि कृत्यानि कुर्वन्ती सा मनोजवा ।
जगाम भारतं वर्षं पुनाना पावनैर्जलैः ॥57॥

इति श्रीपद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे प्रयागमाहात्म्ये नवतितमोऽध्यायः ॥

ऋषय ऊचुः ॥

श्रुतं तु यमुनारूपं कालिन्दी नामकारणम् ।
भारते गमनं तस्याः साङ्गं सान्तं निरूप्यताम् ॥ 1 ॥

शेष उवाच ॥

कालिन्दादध उत्तोर्य हिमाद्रेः पृष्ठमागता ।
पूजिता तेन विधिवत् प्रविष्टा कश्यपाश्रमम् ॥ 2 ॥

सत्कृत्य कश्यपेनेयं ततः स्वाङ्के निवेशिता ।
प्रेम्णा मूर्द्धनिमाघ्राय सुप्रीतेन विसर्जिता ॥ 3 ॥

तदाश्रमं परिक्रम्य प्राप्तरेभ्यमुनेःपदम् ।
श्रद्धयाम्यर्चिता तेन कपिलाश्रममभ्यगात् ॥ 4 ॥

प्रत्युत्थायाथ मुनिना सांख्याचार्येण पूजिता ।
आगच्छादित्यदुहितर्भवत्या पाविता वयम् ॥ 5 ॥

वालखिल्याशतोपेतं वैश्वानरशतैर्वृतम् ।
प्रदक्षिणामुपावृत्य गालवाश्रममभ्यगात् ॥ 6 ॥

गालवेनार्चिता सम्यगवतीर्य हिमाचलात् ।
अदूरं सत्यतपसा विधानेनार्कनन्दिनी ॥ 7 ॥

सपुष्पोर्धः प्रवाहः सन्नदीत्वमगमद्वरम् ।
प्रष्यभद्रेति कालिन्दीं प्रविष्टा सरिद्रुत्तमा ॥ 8 ॥

तयोः स संगमः पुण्यः सेव्यते दैवतैरपि ।
सत्ययुक्तैश्च मुनिभिर्जन्ममृत्युजरापहः ॥ 9 ॥

आप्लाव्य तद्वनं पश्चात् प्रविश्य मदनाटवीम् ।
विजित्य यत्र गिरिशो मदनेन प्रतापितः ॥10॥

वारंवारं क्षमायुक्तः क्रोधेन च नियोजितः ।
प्रसभं कोपि तस्यास्य नेत्रात्समभवञ्छिखी ॥11॥

स दग्ध्वा मदनं तस्य वनं च दशयोजनम् ।
शान्तोभूतद्वनं कृत्स्नं प्रक्षाल्य शिवपूजनम् ॥12॥

क्रुद्धः शान्तिमगादीशस्तच्छांतिपुरमुच्यते ।
तस्य मध्यमथो यान्त्या प्लावयित्वा स्ववारिणा ॥13॥

इन्द्रद्युम्नस्य राजर्षेर्मुक्तिस्थानं नृगस्य तु ।
स्यमन्तपञ्चकं चापि मन्मथाश्रममेव च ॥14॥

खाण्डवं वनमासाद्य तत्रत्यैर्बहुपूजिता ।
तिलप्रस्थं पावयित्वा ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवालयम् ॥15॥

रम्यमप्सरसां स्थानं यस्मिंश्चञ्चलतां गतः ।
यायावरः पुरा विप्रस्तपस्याविजितेन्द्रियः ॥16॥

शप्तं पुरंदरेणेमं पावनीकृत्य पावनी ।
मथुरामण्डलं प्राप्ता पुण्यदेवर्षिपूजिता ॥17॥

पूरयित्वा कुरून् देशान् शूरसेनान् समाविशत् ।
वनानि द्वादशस्फातस्फोटानि गुणसंपदा ॥18॥

क्रमाद्विश्रान्तिमासाद्य विश्रान्ता केशवालये ।
आश्लिष्टा वासुदेवेन संस्कृत्याभ्यर्चिता यमी ॥19॥

अनुज्ञाता गता पुण्या सुपुण्यं ध्रौवमाश्रमम् ।
यत्र सिद्धो ध्रुवः पूर्वं ततः सप्तर्षिपूजिता ॥20॥

संप्राप्ता पुण्यसलिला पवित्रं रेणुकाश्रमम् ।
दीक्षितो यत्र रामोभूत् दृप्तक्षत्रक्षयाध्वरे ॥21॥

कृत्वा यूपं स्वपरशुं कार्तवीर्यं महापशुम् ।
अपि स्वमातरं हत्वा स स्नात्वा यमुनाजले ॥22॥

तस्मिन्नेवाश्रमे सद्यो विशुद्धिं परमां गतः ।
पुनः सा प्राङ्मुखी भूत्वा संप्राप्ता सौकरीं पुरीम् ॥23॥

यत्र धात्रीं समुद्धर्तुं मुत्पन्नश्चादिशूकरः ।
प्राप्य विष्णुर्वराहत्वं त्रैलोक्यं पर्यपालयत् ॥24॥

धराभारादितः सोपि श्रद्धया स्नापितोऽनया ।
 ततस्तां नगरीं सौरी भूत्वा प्रत्यक् पराङ्मुखी ॥25॥
 ततः सा शूरसेनेभ्यः पाञ्चालानां विमुक्तिदा ।
 इष्टकाश्रममासाद्य वशिष्ठायतनं महत् ॥26॥
 दुर्वाससोर्चिता भूत्वा वशिष्ठेनासितेन च ।
 एकं चक्रं समासाद्य संप्राप्तोशनसीर्हणा ॥27॥
 ततो वाचस्पतेः पूजामादायाश्रुतदाश्रमात् ।
 करजाश्रममासाद्य देशाद्देशान्तरं गता ॥28॥
 प्लावयन्ती सुधाम्भोभिः पावयन्ती च पापिनः ।
 ब्रह्मणो मध्यमां वेदीं प्रयागस्य विवेश सा ॥29॥
 भरद्वाजेन मुनिना माधवेन श्रिया सह ।
 महेश्वरेण पार्वत्या तथान्यैरपि दैवतैः ॥30॥
 संस्तूय परमप्रीत्या समाश्लिष्य विसर्जिता ।
 ततो विन्ध्याद्रिमासाद्य गता वाराणसीं पुरीम् ॥31॥
 दृढकर्ममहारज्जुबन्धनच्छेदकर्तरी ।
 यत्रादिकेशवः शम्भुस्तीर्थान्यायतनानि च ॥32॥
 ततः प्रयाता यमुना भरतस्याश्रमान्तिकम् ।
 ततो देवी बहून् देशान् प्लावयन्ती च पापिनः ॥33॥
 प्रक्षालयन्ती पापानि प्रभावैरुत्तमैर्निजैः ।
 तत्र तत्र च देवर्षिब्रह्मर्षिगणपूजिता ॥34॥
 स्तुता राजर्षिवृन्देन प्रविश्य लवणाम्बुधिम् ।
 नानानदनदीभिश्च क्रीडते सागरेऽनिशम् ॥35॥

ऋषय ऊचुः ।

प्रयागादम्बुधिं स्वामिन् सर्वैर्गङ्गाैव गीयते ।
 वदन्ति यमुनां नैव को हेतुस्तत्र कथ्यताम् ॥36॥

शेष उवाच ।

पुरा भगीरथो राजा मुनिकोपदवाग्निना ।
 दग्धानशेषानाकर्ण्य निजान् पूर्वान् यशस्विनः ॥37॥
 तान्समुद्धर्तुमानिन्ये विष्णुपादोदकं वरम् ।
 यमेन परमेणासौ कष्टेन महता भुवम् ॥38॥

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प्रापयामास तद्वारि पूतां राजर्षिसत्तमः ।
 संप्राप्य गामम्बुभरो गङ्गेत्याख्यां जगाम सः ॥39॥
 नदीत्वमगमत्पुण्यं सर्वलोकोत्तमोत्तमम् ।
 यमुनासन्निधिं प्राप्ता प्रयागाभ्यासवाहिनी ॥40॥
 अर्घ्येनादरपूर्वेण यमुना तामथाभ्यगात् ।
 गृहागार्ध्यं मया दत्तं विधिवत्त्रिदशालये ॥41॥
 आदरेणापि दत्तं सा नार्घ्यं गंगाभ्यनन्दयत् ।
 तदा संदेहमापन्ना यमुना तामुवाच ह ॥42॥

यमुनोवाच ।

पूजनीयासि मे गङ्गे अर्घ्याद्यैः केन हेतुना ।
 पूजां नेच्छसि मदत्तं तदाख्याहि यथामतम् ॥43॥

गङ्गोवाच ।

सरितामग्रजासि त्वं प्रविश्य भवतीमितः ।
 अमुना मे प्रयाताया नाम नाशं प्रयास्यति ॥44॥
 यदि मे नाम सुस्थं स्याद्यमुने संगमात्तव ।
 तर्हि त्वदर्हणं प्राप्य प्रविश्य भवतीं व्रजे ॥45॥

यमुनोवाच ।

इतस्ते योजनशतं गङ्गे नाम भविष्यति ।
 अतः परं पृथग्भूत्वा गन्तव्यं हि त्वया सखि ॥46॥
 अन्योन्यं संविदं कृत्वा एवं ते सरिदुत्तमे ।
 प्रयागे संगमे प्रेम्णा गते च शतयोजनम् ॥47॥
 ततो गङ्गा पृथग्भूत्वानुज्ञाता प्राङ्मुखी तथा ।
 हृष्टाविवेश जलधिं मानयन्ती भगीरथम् ॥48॥
 यस्मिंस्तीर्थे पृथग्भूते ते उभे सरिदुत्तमे ।
 गङ्गोद्धेद इति ख्यातं तत्तीर्थं पुण्यपावनम् ॥49॥
 ततश्च शतधा भूत्वा यमुनाम्बुनिधिं गता ।
 सहस्रधा तथा गङ्गा प्रविष्टा लवणाम्बुधिम् ॥50॥
 एवं हि यमुनोत्पत्तिः सनकाद्या महर्षयः ।
 मयोक्ता भवतां प्रीत्या किमस्यत्प्रवदामि वः ॥51॥

इति श्रीपद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे प्रयागमाहात्म्ये एकनवतितमोऽध्यायः ॥

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ऋषय ऊचुः—

महिमा भवता प्रोक्तो भवता परमाद्भुतः ।
नित्यकाम्यविधिः सर्वं स्तदुत्पत्तिस्तु नोदिता ॥ 1 ॥

उत्पन्ना सा कथं सूत कदा वै केन हेतुना ।
कुतः सातिपवित्राभूत् सर्वपापप्रणाशिनी ॥ 2 ॥

तदुत्पत्तिं समाख्याहि सर्वश्रेष्ठा यतो भवेत् ।
सर्वदुःखौघशमनी पुत्रपौत्रविर्वर्द्धिनी ॥ 3 ॥

सूत उवाच—

मुरनामा महादैत्यः सर्वदेवोपतापनः ।
युयुधे निर्जरैः सर्वैर्बलवान् रणदुर्मदः ॥ 4 ॥

तदा पराजिताः सर्वे तेन देवाः सवासवाः ।
ब्रह्मलोके तदा गत्वा ब्रह्माणमिदमब्रुवन् ॥ 5 ॥

देवा ऊचुः—

ब्रह्मन् पराजिताः सर्वे मुरेण बलिना वयम् ।
शरणं त्वां प्रशन्नाः स्म तदुपायं वदस्व नः ॥ 6 ॥

ब्रह्मोवाच—

अहो सुरगणा यूयं शृणुध्वं वचनं मम ।
विभेमि तं महादैत्यं ब्रह्मलोकस्थितोऽप्यहम् ॥ 7 ॥

अतो मे नास्ति सामर्थ्यं बलिनस्तस्य नाशने ।
प्रबलं धूर्जटिं यात स उपायं विधास्यति ॥ 8 ॥

एवं निराकृतास्तेन निराशा देवतागणाः ।
कैलाशे शरणं जग्मुः शङ्करं लोकशङ्करम् ॥ 9 ॥

गत्वा प्रणम्य विधिवत् सर्वे प्राञ्जलयः सुराः ।
दुःखं निवेदयामासुस्तस्मै मुरसमुद्भवम् ॥ 10 ॥

देवा ऊचुः—

सदाशिव वयं सर्वे भवदोयाः पराजिताः ।
दैत्येन बलिना क्वापि स्थानं नैव लभामहे ॥ 11 ॥

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अतस्त्वां शरणं प्राप्ताः प्रपन्नार्तिहरं गुरुम् ।
तथा कुरु दयासिन्धो यथा नश्येत कण्टकः ॥12॥

शङ्कर उवाच—

भो देवाः किं मया कार्यं विष्णुना प्रभविष्णुना ।
प्रसन्नेन वरो दत्तस्तस्मै दुष्टाय दुर्जरः ॥13॥
देवेभ्यो दानवेभ्यश्च मनुष्येभ्यस्तथैव च ।
सर्वेभ्यः पुरुषेभ्यस्ते नैव नाशो भविष्यति ॥14॥
अतः कस्यापि सामर्थ्यं नास्ति तस्य विनाशने ।
अतः सर्वे वयं विष्णुं प्रार्थयिष्यामहेऽजसा ॥15॥
इत्युक्त्वा शङ्करो ब्रह्मा सर्वे देवाः सवासवाः ।
गत्वा क्षीराब्धिं शयनं महाविष्णुं प्रतुष्टुवुः ॥16॥

देवा ऊचुः—

नमस्ते पुण्डरीकाक्ष भक्तसंकटनाशन ।
शरणं त्वां प्रपन्नाः स्मो मुरदैत्यपराजिताः ॥17॥
भवद्राद्वरो दुष्टो बाधतेस्मानहर्निशम् ।
तद्रक्षास्मान्यथा भूयो भजिष्यामः स्वलोकताम् ॥18॥

सूत उवाच—

इति तेषां वचो दीनं श्रुत्वानन्तासनो हरिः ।
जगाद तान्महामायो मेघगम्भीरया गिरा ॥19॥

श्रीविष्णुरुवाच—

मा भैष्ट सकला देवा नाशयामि मुरासुरम् ।
इत्युक्त्वा खगमारुह्य गदापाणिस्तमन्वगात् ॥20॥
तत्पृष्ठेदं शितुं जग्मुः सर्वे देवगणा अपि ।
ब्रह्मा महेश्वरश्चोभौ स्वं स्वं स्थानं प्रजग्मतुः ॥21॥
इति देवोद्यमं श्रुत्वा मुरोपि स्ववलावृतः ।
योद्धुमभ्याययौ शीघ्रं सन्नद्धो रणदुर्मदः ॥22॥
ततो देवासुरं युद्धं तुमुलं लोमहर्षणम् ।
बभूव शस्त्रसंपातैर्दंशरात्रमहर्निशम् ॥23॥
ततो वरप्रभावेन मुरेणापीडिताः सुराः
पलायनपराः सर्वे भेजुर्दंशदिशोबलाः ॥24॥

एवं पलायितान् वीक्ष्य देवान् विष्णुः स्वयं तदा ।
 युयुधे बलिना तेन शस्त्रास्त्रै रणकोविदः ॥25॥
 पराजयं न लेभेसौ दैत्यराजो यदा तदा ।
 प्राग्दत्तं स्ववरं स्मृत्वा स्वयं निववृते रणात् ॥26॥
 ततोऽपि मेरवीं गत्वा गुहां द्वादशयोजनाम् ।
 प्रविश्यान्तः सुखं तत्र सुष्वापाशु जनादनः ॥27॥
 पृष्ठतः सोप्यगादैत्यो दृष्ट्वा हरिमरिं ततः ।
 प्रविवेश गुहामध्ये एकाकी युद्धकामुकः ॥28॥
 तत्र दृष्ट्वा महाविष्णुं प्रसुप्तं प्रहसन् मुरः ।
 उवाच वचनं हास्यं जयप्राप्तो मदोद्धतः ॥29॥

मुर उवाच—

पलायनं कथं योग्यं संग्रामादनिर्वर्तिनः ।
 गुहाप्रवेशस्तत्रापि शयनं भीतभीतवत् ॥30॥
 एवं विकथमानेस्मिन्विष्णुनिश्वासेः परा ।
 आदिशक्तिः समुद्भूता युयुधे चारिणा समम् ॥31॥
 तया पराजिता दैत्या विष्णुचक्रेण भास्वता ।
 निहतश्च महादैत्यः सर्वसैन्यसमन्वितः ॥32॥
 क्षणेन तद्वलं सर्वं नाशयित्वा पुनः स्वयं ।
 गुहामागत्य सा विष्णोस्तस्थौ प्राञ्जलिरग्रतः ॥33॥
 प्रतिबुद्धस्ततो विष्णुर्नापश्यदसुरं पुरः ।
 तामपश्यत्स्त्रियं दिव्यां प्राञ्जलिं पुरतः स्थिताम् ॥34॥
 तामुवाचाय भगवान् कासि त्वं कञ्जलोचने ।
 मुरनामासुरः क्वास्ते योयुध्यत मया सह ॥35॥
 एवमुक्त्वा विनिष्क्रम्यं गुहाया ददृशे बहिः ।
 सनाथमासुरं सैन्यं पतितं तद्रणाजिरे ॥36॥
 पतितं दानवं दृष्ट्वा स देवोतीव विस्मितः ।
 केनासौ पातितो दैत्यः कस्य कर्म न विद्महे ॥37॥
 न देवो न च गन्धर्वो येनासौ दानवो हतः ।
 विस्मयो मे महान् जातः कस्येदं कर्म दुष्करम् ॥38॥
 श्रीविष्णोर्वचनं श्रुत्वा प्राह सा कमलेक्षणा ।
 मयायं निहतो दैत्यस्त्वच्छक्त्या विस्मयोत्र कः ॥39॥

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तच्छ्रुत्वातीव संहृष्टो हसंस्तं प्रत्यभाषत ।
का वा कस्यासि शक्तिस्त्वं सर्वमेव वदस्व त्वम् ॥40॥

शक्तिरुवाच—

त्वयि सुप्ते जगन्नाथ स दैत्योत्र समागतः ।
घातुकं शक्तिपाणिं तं मया दृष्ट्वा निपातितः ॥41॥
तव चक्रेण तत्सैन्यं मया सर्वं निपातितम् ।
आज्ञापयसि यच्चान्यत्तत्करिष्यामि सर्वथा ॥42॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

तपस्तुष्टेन दत्तास्मै पुरुषाऽवध्यता मया ।
तद्वाक्यपालनायैवाहं च तस्मात्पलायितः ॥43॥
दशरात्रमहोरात्रं कृतं युद्धं मयामुना ।
निहतोयं महादैत्यस्त्वयैकादशमे दिने ॥44॥
एकादशीतिनाम्ना त्वं प्रथमाप्स्यसि पावनि ।
मच्चक्रं च गृहाणेदं वरं वरय कांक्षितम् ॥45॥

शक्तिरुवाच—

यदि तुष्टोसि भगवन् वरमेकं प्रयच्छ मे ।
तिथिरेकादशीतेहं वल्लभा स्यां तथा कुरु ॥46॥
सर्वपापक्षयकरो ब्रह्महत्यादिनाशिनी ।
सर्वतोर्थव्रतश्रेष्ठा स्वर्गमोक्षप्रदायिनी ॥47॥
मद्व्रतं ये करिष्यन्ति नित्यं काम्यञ्च मानवाः ।
सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्ताः प्रयान्तु तव सन्निधौ ॥48॥
इति तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा प्रीतो विष्णुरुवाच तां ।
यत् त्वमिच्छसि कल्याणि भविष्यति ततोधिकम् ॥49॥
इति दत्त्वा वरं तस्यै देवर्षिगणसंस्तुतः ।
देवकार्यं समासाद्य वैकुण्ठभवनं ययौ ॥50॥
एकादशीसमुत्पत्तिरेवमुक्त्वा महर्षयः ।
शृणुयाच्छ्रावयेद्यस्तु सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥51॥
एकादशोव्रतमिदं सांगोपांगं निरूपितम् ।
मह्यं श्रीगुरुणा प्रोक्तं किमन्यत्प्रवदामि वः ॥52॥

इति श्रीपद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे प्रयागमाहात्म्ये सप्ततितमोऽध्यायः ।

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सनकादय ऊचुः

शेषराज महाराज पुराणश्रवणे विधिः ।
न श्रुतोस्माभिरधुना तं वदस्वानुगृह्य नः ॥1॥
कीदृशोपेक्षितो वक्ता श्रोतारः कीदृशा मताः ।
ये चोभयेषां नियमास्तत्सर्वमनुवर्णय ॥2॥

शेष उवाच—

सम्यक्पृष्टं मुनिश्रेष्ठाः सर्वलोकोपकारकम् ।
पुराणश्रवणं येन विधिना सफलं भवेत् ॥3॥
ते विधिं कथयिष्येहं व्यासदेवेन वर्णितम् ।
वक्तृश्रोतृगुणोपेतं पुण्यं गोप्यं जगद्धितम् ॥4॥
बालो युवाथ वृद्धो वा दरिद्रो दुर्बलोऽपि वा ।
पुराणज्ञः सदावन्द्यः पूज्यञ्च सुखमर्थिभिः ॥5॥
न नीचबुद्धिं कुर्वीत पुराणज्ञे कथंचन ।
यस्य वक्रोद्गता वाणी कामधेनुः शरोरिणाम् ॥6॥
गुरवः सन्ति लोकस्य जन्मतो गुणतश्च ये ।
तेषामपि च सर्वेषां पुराणज्ञः पुरोगुरुः ॥7॥
संसारार्णवमग्नानां तृष्णाकुलितचेतसाम् ।
यो दद्यान्निर्वृतिं कोन्यः पुनस्तस्मात्परो गुरुः ॥8॥
पुराणज्ञः शुचिर्दान्तः शान्तो विजित्मत्सरः ।
साधुः कारुण्यवान् वक्ता वदेद्भागवतः कथाम् ॥9॥
व्यासासनं समारूढो यावत्पौराणिको द्विजः ।
आसमाप्तेः पुराणस्य नमस्कुर्यान्न कस्यचित् ॥10॥
ये धूर्ता ये च दुर्वृत्ताः स्वागता विजिगीषवः ।
तेषां कुटिलवृत्तीनामग्रे नैव वदेत्कथाम् ॥11॥
सतामेव प्रवक्तव्यं पुण्यापुण्यतरं यतः ।
वाचयेत्पुण्यसदने पुण्यक्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमः ॥12॥

ब्रह्मद्वेषरतानां च दंभाचाररतात्मनाम् ।
 शठानां वक्वृत्तीनां न ब्रूयादिदमुत्तमम् ॥13॥
 त्यक्तकामादिदोषाणां विष्णुभक्तिरतात्मनाम् ।
 गुरुभक्तिपराणां च वक्तव्यं मोक्षसाधनम् ॥14॥
 कृतनित्यक्रियः सम्यक् नत्वा स्वाभीष्टदेवताम् ।
 स्वपरार्थो हृदि न्यस्य द्रवचित्तो वदेत्कथाम् ॥15॥
 एते वक्तृगुणाः प्रोक्ताः सर्वेषामुपकारकाः ।
 अथ श्रोतुर्गुणान्वक्ष्ये श्रोतृपुण्यनिवर्द्धनात् ॥16॥
 श्रद्धाभक्तिसमायुक्ता मान्यकार्येषु लालसाः ।
 वाग्यता शुचयोव्यग्रा श्रोतारः फलभागिनः ॥17॥
 अभक्त्या ये बलाद्वापि संकोचे नान्यकार्यतः ।
 कथां शृण्वन्ति पापघ्नीं न तेषां सकलं फलम् ॥18॥
 स्त्रियो वृद्धा जडा मूर्खा अर्थज्ञानं विनापि ये ।
 कथां शृण्वन्ति यां भक्त्या ते यान्ति परमां गतिम् ॥19॥
 पुराणज्ञं त्वसंपूज्य फलताम्बूलपुष्पकैः ।
 ये शृण्वन्ति कथां ते स्युर्दरिद्रा जन्मजन्मनि ॥20॥
 कथायां कथ्यमानायां ये गच्छन्त्यन्यतो नराः ।
 कलहं वा प्रकुर्वन्ति ते वै निरयगामिनः ॥21॥
 ताम्बूलं चर्वयन्तो ये कथां शृण्वन्ति पाविनीम् ।
 स्वविष्ठाः खादयन्त्येतान्नरके यमकिंकराः ॥22॥
 ये च तुंगासनारूढा कथां शृण्वन्ति दाम्भिकाः ।
 अनेकान्नरकान्भुङ्क्त्वा ते भवन्त्यत्र वायसाः ॥23॥
 ये च वीरासनारूढा ये चैकासनसंस्थिताः ।
 शृण्वन्तिः सत्कथां ते वै भवन्त्यर्जुनपादपाः ॥24॥
 असंप्रणम्य शृण्वन्तो विषवृक्षा भवन्ति हि ।
 तथा शयानाः शृण्वन्तो भवन्त्यजगरा नराः ॥25॥
 ये निन्दन्ति पुराणज्ञं कथां वा पापनाशिनीम् ।
 ते यामीं यातनां भुक्त्वा जायन्ते शुनका नराः ॥26॥
 दुरुत्तरं वदन्तो ये कथायां विघ्नयन्ति ते ।
 बहूदं नरकान्भुक्त्वा भवन्ति ग्रामशूकराः ॥27॥

आसनार्थं प्रयच्छन्ति पुराणज्ञाय ये नराः ।
 ऊर्णाकम्बलवासांसि मञ्चं तूलवतीं पटोम् ॥28॥
 पृष्ठतः पार्श्वतश्चैव मृदून्युलीर्षकास्थलम् ।
 प्रावारं परिधेयं च संभवे भूषणादिकम् ॥29॥
 ऋतावृतौ समुत्पन्नं भोग्यं पुष्पफलादिकम् ।
 यावत्कथं भोजनं च जलभोजनभाजने ॥30॥
 जातीफललवंगेलायुक्तं ताम्बूलमुत्तमम् ।
 चन्दनं चाङ्गुलेपार्थं कस्तूरी केसराश्रितम् ॥31॥
 इत्यादि भोगवस्तूनि भक्त्या यच्छन्ति ये नराः ।
 श्रवणं सफलं तेषां माधवोऽतिप्रसीदति ॥32॥
 तदर्थद्योतकमिदं पुराणं श्राव्यमुत्तमम् ।
 पठनाच्छ्रवणाद्वापि सर्वपापविनाशनम् ॥41॥
 यस्यात्र श्रवणे बुद्धिर्वर्तते भक्तिसंयुता ।
 स एव कृतकृत्यस्तु सर्वशास्त्रार्थकोविदः ॥42॥
 ये शृण्वन्ति कथां विष्णोः पुण्यां भुवनपावनीम् ।
 ते वै मनुष्यलोकेस्मिन् विष्णुरूपा न संशयः ॥43॥
 शृण्वन्ति भगवद्गाथां कीर्तयन्ते च ये सदा ।
 तेषां पादरजांस्येव तीर्थानि मुनयो विदुः ॥44॥
 तस्मान्निःश्रेयसंगस्तु येभिवाञ्छन्ति देहितः ।
 ते शृण्वन्तु सदा भक्त्या शक्त्या हरिकथां मुदा ॥45॥
 संसारतापनिस्तप्ता ये नराः शान्तिमिच्छवः ।
 पिवन्ति सादरं तेन नित्यं हरिकथामुद्यमम् ॥46॥
 यद्यशक्तः सदा श्रोतुं कथां संसृतिजालगः ।
 मुहूर्तमात्रं शृणुयान्नियतात्मा दिनेदिने ॥47॥
 अशक्तः प्रत्यहं वापि यः श्रोतुं परवाञ्जनः ।
 वैशाखे कार्तिके माघे शृणुयाद्यत्नतो नरः ॥48॥
 मुहूर्तं वा तदर्द्धं वा क्षणं वा पावनीं कथाम् ।
 ये शृण्वन्ति सदा भक्त्या न तेषामस्ति दुर्गतिः ॥49॥
 यत्फलं सर्वदेवेषु सर्वयज्ञेषु यत्फलम् ।
 सकृत्पुराणश्रवणात्तत्फलं विन्दते नरः ॥50॥

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कलौ युगे विशेषेण पुराणश्रवणादृते ।
 नास्ति धर्मः परः पुंसामालस्यश्लथिलात्मनाम् ॥51॥
 पुराणश्रवणं विष्णोर्नामसंकीर्तनं तथा ।
 उभये च मनुष्याणां कल्पद्रुममहाफले ॥52॥
 कलौ दुर्मेधसो विप्रा धर्माचारविर्वर्जिताः ।
 इति संचिन्त्य कृपया भगवान् वादरायणः ॥53॥
 तेषां हिताय विदधे पुराणाख्यं सुधारसम् ।
 अनायासेन यत्पापान्मर्त्यो पापादमर्त्यता ॥54॥
 तस्मात्सर्वात्मना पूर्वं कर्तव्यो धर्मसंग्रहः ।
 उपकुर्यात्कथाकाले गृहदाहेम्बुनिर्मितः ॥55॥
 भवतां विदितप्रायं धर्मतत्त्वं महात्मनाम् ।
 प्रश्नप्रतिवचः सिद्धौ तथाप्युक्तं मुनीश्वराः ॥56॥
 एवं पुराणश्रवणे विधिरुक्तो यथाश्रुतः ।
 श्रृण्वननेन विधिना समग्रफलमश्नुते ॥57॥
 प्रातः स्नात्वा विधानेन गंगायामुनसंगमे ।
 तीर्थराजस्य माहात्म्यं शृणुयाद्भक्तितो नरः ॥58॥
 तेन यात्राफलं पूर्णं प्राप्नोति गतकल्मषः ।
 सर्वदा माघमासे तु विशेषेण मुनीश्वराः ॥59॥
 प्रयागे माघमासे तु देवानामपि दुर्लभः ।
 वक्तुं तत्र न शक्तोऽहं स्नानदानादिजं फलम् ॥60॥
 माघप्रयागमाहात्म्यं माघमाहात्म्यमेव च ।
 शृणुयात्सद्विजाद्भक्त्या विशेषात्तीर्थवासिनः ॥61॥
 भक्त्या यः शृणुयादत्र तीर्थमाहात्म्यमुत्तमम् ।
 सर्वकामफलं भुक्त्वा वैकुण्ठे व्रजते नरः ॥62॥
 पृष्टं सार्वजनीनं यद्भवदिभल्लोकमंगलैः ।
 निरूपितं मया सर्वं किमन्यच्छ्रोतुमिच्छथ ॥63॥

इति श्रीपद्मपुराणे पातालखण्डे प्रयागमाहात्म्ये सप्तचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ।

CĀRVĀKAVĀDA OF JARADGAVĀ

BY

GANESH THITE

[चावार्कमतप्रतिपादकाः ग्रन्थाः विरलतया उपलब्धयन्ते । तत्र जैमिनीयाश्वमेधे नाम पौराणिके ग्रन्थे चावार्कमतप्रतिपादनरूपः अंशः अद्यावधि न केनापि पण्डितेन विचारितपूर्वः अत्र विचार्यते । तत्र जरद्गवा चावार्कमतं प्रतिपादयति । तत्र यज्ञविरोधः, वेदविरोधः इत्यादीनि वैशिष्ट्यानि दृश्यन्ते एव । किं तु कृषिगोरक्ष्यादिविषयकं प्रतिपादनम् अपि भवति । तेन चावार्कवादः न केवलं नकारात्मकः, विरोधरूपः एव किं तु भौतिकजीवनस्य सम्यक्तया समृद्धिं कर्तुं प्रयत्नशीलः इति भाति । तथा च “ऋणं कृत्वा घृतं पिबेत्” इति तस्य रूपं न । तर्हि कृषिगोरक्ष्यादिकं कृत्वा घृतं पिबेत् इत्येव ।]

The Cārvāka-philosophy (Indian Materialism) is rather scattered. We get only a very few references to it spread in various books. In ancient India, there must have been many materialistic thinkers but their actual thoughts are only rarely obtained. Among the ancient materialistic thinkers a woman named Jaradgavā deserves mention. No attention has been yet paid to her, as far as I know. Jaradgavā and her materialistic thoughts are found in Jaiminīya-Aśvamedha chapter 6. A study of her philosophy will be very important for the knowledge of the ancient Indian materialism in general.

Here, Yudhiṣṭhira's Aśvamedha-sacrifice is the context. It is decided that Yudhiṣṭhira is going to perform the Aśvamedha at the Hastināpura. The king Yauvanāśva declares through Sudeva that all his citizens should attend the Yudhiṣṭhira's Aśvamedha-sacrifice. Sudeva was a rich citizen in the kingdom of Yauvanāśva. He announces the order of the king and all the people accept it. Finally, Sudeva asks his own mother named Jaradgavā also to attend the Aśvamedha-sacrifice. His mother summarily rejects this (Jaiminīya-Aśvamedha VI. 32). She says, “So long as I am living, no expenses should be made. I cannot live without money

vittavyayo na kartavyo mayi jīvati putraka/
vittahīnā hyaham tāta na jīvitumihotsahe”//33

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Then Sudeva tries to convince her by saying that the ceremony will be an auspicious one because the sacred river Gaṅgā, many good personalities and even the Lord Kṛṣṇa along with his elder brother will come there and this is a rare opportunity according to him (cf. 34 and 35). The old woman is, however, firm and replies that she will not accompany him. She further adds, "I have never heard either of any god or of any religion. Neither my husband nor my father ever performed any religious duty. Following whose advice are you inclined to spend money ?

na devo na ca dharmo'pi śrutapūrvah kadācana ||36

bhartrā naiva kṛto dharmo matpitṛā tu kadācana |

kasyopadeśāt tvam putra pravṛtto'si dhanakṣaye ||37

She then abuses the whole of sacrificial ritual and giving gifts as mere fraud, the Veda as mere eulogium and Brahmins as deceivers of people

sarvaṁ pratāraṇaṁ manye yajñadānādikāḥ kriyāḥ |

arthavādo mato vedo brāhmaṇa lokavañcakāḥ ||38

She repeats the importance of money by asking, "who will destroy money which is obtained at the cost of life ?" and adds "In our family religious practice has never been a source of happiness to anybody (39). I have become now old. How shall I perform religious duties ? I shall not do what I have not done so far... (40)". Then Sudeva goes to the king Yauvanāśva and reports all that his mother has said. The king laughs at the way of her thinking and brings her to himself. He also tries to attract her by telling her that all the people will go there where Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa are present and asks her to perform good deeds (*puṇya*) in Hastināpura. He adds that many women of holy nature like Rukmiṇī will be present there and even the sight of good persons purifies one from all evils (43-46). To the king also Jaradgavā tells her economics but in greater details. She says, "I shall not come; for my possessions will be ruined. For my daughters-in law are wicked; they will ruin my house. In the field wheat has now ripened. The herdsmen will finish off my butter. The angry group of male and female servants will go as it came. This house, O king, stands because it is supported by me

nāgamiṣyāmi rājendra dravyaṁ mama gamiṣyati |

vadhūgaṇaśca me duṣṭo nāśayiṣyati madgṛham ||47||

godhūmaḥ paripakvā me kṣetre tiṣṭhanti sāmpratam |
navanītam ca gopā vai saṁkṣayiṣyanti māmakam ||48||

dāsadāsi gaṇo raudro gamiṣyati yathāgataṁ |
madūdhāraṁ gṛham idaṁ sthitaṁ rājan na saṁśayaḥ ||49||

She further asks, "What have I to do with Kṛṣṇa ? I have no work with Yudhiṣṭhira. As the persons like Kṛṣṇa, Yudhiṣṭhira etc. are with their own activities, similarly I am alert in my own household work" (50 f). She then requests the king also not to go to the sacrifice leaving the kingdom, for it will be mere wastage of money and then warns that all people will suffer when he will go out (50ff). The king, of course, could not be converted by her. He, on the contrary, caught her, bound her, put her in a litter and carried her to Hastināpura. While doing this he was laughing, being astonished and cursing the greed and she kept weeping (53f).

This piece is important for various reasons. First, it gives an exposition of the actual materialistic thoughts which are found rarely only. Secondly here materialism of Jaradgavā is not confined merely to blaming the Veda, vedic ritual or followers of Veda. It contains some positive thoughts particularly of economic nature. Jaradgavā does blame the vedic lore, vedic sacrifices and Brahmins. But what is more striking is that she bases her thoughts on the level of economics. Again and again, she expresses her view of not spending money for some useless things. She refers to her agricultural products as well as pastoral products. She is afraid of destruction of her possession in her absence. Thirdly, her emphasis on fulfilling ones own duties and responsibilities is very instructive. She lets Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa sacrifice; but does not want to attend their sacrifice by leaving her own duties and request even the king not to neglect his own work for the sake of attending sacrifice performed by others. The last and the most important feature of this piece is that it reveals the characteristic intolerance of the vedists towards the materialists. The king did not discuss with her nor did he refute her philosophy. He, neglecting her opposition, simply caught her and thrust his views on her. This intolerant attitude of the majority of people who did not like the Cārvāka-philosophy towards the minority of people who proclaimed the Cārvāka-philosophy perhaps explains why the sources of Cārvāka-philosophy and materialism in general are very limited.

पुराणं वेदः

अनन्त शर्मा

[In this article the author has tried to establish that the Purāṇa-literature is also included in the Vedic literature, like the Brāhmaṇa-s and the Upaniṣad-s. He has quoted from Atharvaveda, Brāhmaṇa-s and the Upaniṣad-s to support this assertion. According to this view the Purāṇa-s are the interpreters of the Veda-s and in so doing they insert many ākhyāna-s and the Dharma-Śāstra material in their interpretation of the Veda-s. In fact, as a portion (Adh. 40) of the Yajurveda is named as the Iśa-Upaniṣad, in the same way a portion of the Veda-s is named as the Purāṇa. He has quoted the Vatsyāyana Bhāṣya on the Nyāya-sūtra-s to show that the same Ṛṣi-s who were the seers of the Vedic texts of Mantra-s and the Brāhmaṇa-s, were also the seers and narrators of the Itihāsa-s and the Purāṇa-s. Thus the Purāṇa-s are interpreters of the fifth Veda named as the Purāṇa-Veda.]

पुराणनाम्ना स्वयम्भू^१-प्रजापति-उशन—ऋक्ष (वाल्मीकि)—
अपान्तरतमो—जातुकर्ण्य—पराशर—कृष्णद्वैपायनादिभिर्विभिन्नयुगीयानेक-
व्यासैः प्रोक्तो रचितो वा अग्नि-वायु-विष्णु-वामन-वराह-शिव-स्कन्द-
भागवतादिनामभिस्सर्वत्र प्रख्यातः पुराणोपपुराणादिवाङ्मयो गृह्यते ।

यथा पुराणस्य वास्तविकगौरवेण।संस्तुतोऽपि पुराणभक्तानामेको
विपुलवर्गस्तस्मिन्नविचलां तत्तादृशीं श्रद्धां धत्ते या कदाचिदन्धश्रद्धाया-
रूपमपि गृह्णीते तथैव पुराणस्य प्रतिपाद्येन भाषया शैल्या च यथार्थ-
परिचयस्य तच्चिकीर्षायाः प्रवृत्तेर्वा अभावादास्तिकबुद्धिविपश्चिन्नवहोऽपि
बद्धमूलभ्रान्तधारणावशाद् यादृशान् भावानभिव्यनक्ति तेन तदश्रद्धाया
नग्नरूपं प्रकटी भवति । एवं द्वावेव भूतार्थतोऽस्मादपरिचितौ यत् पुराणं
वेद एव ।

पुराणवाङ्मयस्यापि वेदात् पृथग् न मनागप्यस्तित्वम् । अन्तरं
केवलमेतावदेव यत् पुराणानि पुराणवेदस्य व्याख्यां कुर्वन्तो धर्मज्ञानविषय-

१. अत्रत्यान्तिमा टिप्पणी द्रष्टव्या

कान्यन्यान्यपि तत्त्वानि लोकहिताय क्रोडीकुर्वाणा व्यावहारिकभाषया निबद्धाः पौरुषेया ग्रन्थाः ।

यथा ऋग्यजुस्सामानि वाङ्मयवेदस्य रचनामूलकान्यङ्गानि वेदाश्च, ऋगादि त्रयाधारेणैव वेदचतुष्टयस्य त्रयीति नामान्तरमपि, तथैव पुराणमपि वेदस्य विषयमूलकोऽवयवो वेदश्च । अस्मिन्नेव पक्षे “अनन्ता वै वेदाः” इति श्रुतिरपि सङ्गच्छते ।

यथा सृष्टिघटकमूलतत्त्वानि^२ ऋग्यजुस्सामानि विज्ञानवेदस्य वितान-वेदस्य छन्दोवेदस्य वाक्यवास्सन्ति प्रत्येकस्य व्यासज्यवृत्त्या वेदत्वमप्यस्ति चाव्याहृतम् तथैव पुराणमपि तस्याः सङ्घटनाया मूलरूपमाधाररूपञ्चावयवोऽस्ति वेदश्चापि स्वातन्त्र्येण ।

पुराणं वेद इति तथ्यमिदं श्रुतिमन्त्रैरपि स्पष्टमुद्घोषितम् ।
तथा हि :—

१—(क) ऋचः सामानि छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ।

उच्छिष्टाज्जज्ञिरे सर्वं दिवि देवा दिवि श्रिताः ॥ ११.७.२४
इत्याथर्वणश्रुत्या स्पष्टमेव पुराणं वेदत्वेन ऋगादिषु गणितम् । अस्मिन्नेव वेदेऽन्यत्रापि—

(ख) स उत्तमां दिशमनु व्यचलत् । ७ ।

तमृचश्च सामानि च यजूंषि च ब्रह्म चानुव्यचलन् । ८ ।

ऋचां च स वै साम्नां च यजुषां च ब्रह्मणश्च प्रियं धाम भवति च
एवं वेद । ९ ।

स बृहतीं दिशमनुव्यचलत् । १० ।

तमितिहासः पुराणं च गाथाश्च नाराशंसीश्चानुव्यचलन् । ११ ।

इतिहासस्य वै स पुराणस्य गाथानां च नाराशसीनां च प्रियं धाम
भवति य एवं वेद । १२ । अथर्ववेदः १५.६ इति ।

२. वेदपूर्वं वेदितव्यं प्रयत्नात् तद्वै वेदस्तस्य वेदः शरीरम् ।

(क) वेदस्तत्त्वं तत्समासोपलब्धौ क्लोबस्त्वात्मा तत्सवेद्यस्य वेद्यम् ॥
(वनपर्व २००।११५)

(ख) उद्धरणेषु २८ ख द्रष्टव्यम्, शा० प. ३४४.१२

(ग) वेदा मे परमं चक्षुर्वेदा मे परमं बलम् ।

वेदा मे परमं धाम वेदा मे ब्रह्म चोत्तरम् ॥ शां. प० ३४७.३२

वेदानृते कथं कुर्यां लोकानां सृष्टिमुत्तमाम् ।

अहो बत महद् दुःखं वेदनाशनजं मम ॥ ३३

(घ) २८ संख्यकमुद्धरणजातञ्च ।

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ब्राह्मणकाण्डोऽपि मन्त्रेष्वेतेषु इतिहास-पुराण-गाथानामपि वेदत्वमूगा-
दीनामिव सुस्पष्टं प्रतिपादितमस्तीति नात्र विवादस्य लेशमात्रमप्यवसरः ।

अथर्वसंहितामन्त्रनिर्दिष्टाया अस्याः पुराणविद्यायाः प्रचुर उल्लेखो-
ज्यत्रापि ब्राह्मणादिग्रन्थेष्वसकृदभूदिति प्रस्तूयन्ते संक्षेपेण कानिचिदुद्धरणानि ।
तथा हि—

२—(क) “एवमिमे वेदा निर्मिताः सकल्पाः सरहस्याः सत्राह्यणाः
सोपनिषत्काः सेतिहासाः सान्वाख्याताः सपुराणाः । २।१०” इत्यस्यां पूर्व-
गोपथश्रुतौ कल्प-रहस्य-ब्राह्मणोपनिषदितिहासान्वाख्यानपुराणादिविभिन्न-
प्रतिपाद्यावयवतां वेदानां निर्मितिरुक्ता । एते सर्वे वेदाः कालान्तरेणैतेषां
द्रष्टृभिर्महर्षिवर्यैः प्रोक्तानां विभिन्नानां शास्त्राणां रूपेण लोके प्रथिताः ।
यथा यजुर्वेदस्य चत्वारिंशोऽध्याय उपनिषत् तथैवान्यत्रापि वेदमन्त्रेषु शतशः
सहस्रशः उपनिषद उपनिषद्वेदा वा सन्ति । तदधिकृत्यैव कारुणिकैर्महर्षिभि-
र्विहितं सर्वैयाख्यं प्रवचनमद्यत्वं उपनिषद्वाङ्मयरूपेण प्रसिद्धमस्ति ।
एवमेवान्यासामपि सर्वासां विद्यानामद्य स्वतन्त्रविद्यास्थानत्वेन प्रथितिः ।
एतत्समानद्रष्टृत्वप्रवक्तृत्वविषय आर्यचाणक्यस्य वात्स्यायनभाष्यस्थेयमुक्तिः
प्रसिद्धतमैव यद्—

“य एव मन्त्रब्राह्मणस्य द्रष्टारः प्रवक्तारश्च ते खल्वितिहास-
पुराणस्य धर्मशास्त्रस्य च” (४.१.६२ न्यायभाष्यम्)

(ख) ‘अरेऽस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद् यदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः
सामवेदोऽथर्वान्जिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूत्राण्यनु
व्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानान्यस्यैव निःश्वसितानि” । (बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
२.४.१०) ।

शतपथो द्वरणोऽस्मिन्नुगादिचतुष्टयस्येवेतिहासपुराणादिकस्यापि परमा-
त्मनो निःश्वसितत्वं तन्मुखेन वेदत्वं च प्रतिपादितमिति नात्र तिरोहितमिव
किञ्चित् ।

(ग) ‘ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहास
पुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदम्” इति

छान्दोग्य (७.१.२) श्रुतावत्रेतिहासपुराणस्य वेदमूर्धन्यतो ‘वेदानां
वेद’ मिति वैशिष्ट्येन सुस्पष्टमुद्धृतेव ।

मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यादि स्मृतिष्वप्यनेकत्र पुराणपदेन पुराणवेद एव स्मृतः ।
यथा मनौ—

(घ) “स्वाध्यायं श्रावयेत् पित्र्ये धर्मशास्त्राणि चैव हि ।

आख्यानानीतिहासाश्च पुराणानि खिलानि च ॥ ३।२३२”

पितृकर्मणि स्वाध्यायत्वेन श्राव्याणि पुराणेतिहासादीनि पुराणवेदेतिहास-
वेदावेव । यतो हि येन भगवता मनुना—

‘वेदमेव सदाभ्यस्येत्तपस्तप्यन् द्विजोत्तमः ।

वेदाभ्यासो हि विप्रस्य तपः परमिहोच्यते ॥ २।१६६

इति वेदाभ्यास एव ब्राह्मणायापरिहार्यविधित्वेनानुशासितस्तदतिरिक्त-
मध्ययनं सर्वथा निषिद्धञ्च—

‘योऽनधीत्य द्विजो वेदमन्यत्र कुरुते श्रमम् ।

स जीवन्नेव शूद्रत्वमाशुगच्छति सान्वयः ॥ २।१६८

इति श्लोकमानेन, कथं स प्रमत्तप्रलपितमिव वेदातिरिक्तपुराणाध्ययनादि-
रूपं शासनमकरिष्यत् । भगवतो याज्ञवल्क्यस्यापि—

(ड) ‘वाकोवाक्यं पुराणञ्च नाराशंशीश्च गाथिकाः ।

इतिहासांस्तथा विद्याः शक्त्याधीते हि योऽन्वहम् ॥

इति ब्रह्मयज्ञप्रकरणीये (४१ तमे) पद्येऽस्मिन् वाकोवाक्यपुराणादीनां
वेदतैवाभीष्टा । वाकोवाक्यनाराशंशीगाथयोरन्तराले पठितं ‘पुराणं’ वेद
एव नान्यत् किञ्चन । इतः पूर्वं ३६ तमे पद्ये—

‘वेद एव द्विजातीनां निःश्रेयसकरः परः’ १.३९

इति प्रवचता केवलं वेदस्यैवाध्ययनमेव पदेन तस्यैव परनिःश्रेयससाधकत्वं
च व्यपदिष्टम् । इतोऽनन्तरं ४० तः ४३ पर्यन्तं पद्यचतुष्टय ऋग्यजुस्सा-
माथर्वाङ्गिरसवेदानां स्वाध्यायस्यानुशासनं फलश्रुतिश्चोपवर्णिते । तत्प्रसङ्ग
एव ४४ तमं पद्यमिदम् ।

एवं सुस्पष्टमिदं यत् पुराणं न शास्त्रान्तरमपि तु वेद एव ।
पुराणवेदेन ग्राह्यस्य विषयस्य निर्देशोऽपि भगवत्या श्रुत्यैव बीजरूपेण—

३— ‘येत आसीद् भूमिः पूर्वा यामद्धातय इद् विदुः ।

यो वै तां विद्यान्नामथा स मन्येत पुराणवित् ॥ १।७।२४

इत्याथर्वणमन्त्रेणानेन विहितः । केवलं मेधाविन एव पुरस्ताद् वर्तमानस्याभि-
व्यक्तस्य जगतः प्रागवस्थानभूमिमेतद् योनिं ‘पुराणं’ विदन्ति । यो वै
याथातथ्येनैतज्ज्ञानसम्पन्नो भवति स एव पुराणविदुच्यते इति सुव्यक्तमत्र
प्रतिपादितं यत् सृष्टिविद्यैव ‘पुराणम्’ सृष्ट्याधारश्च ‘पुराणम्’ । भावस्यास्य
स्पष्टीकरणमस्यामेव संहितायाम्—

४— यत्र स्कम्भः प्रजनयन् पुराणं व्यवर्तयत् ।

एकं तदङ्गं स्कम्भस्य पुराणमनुसंविदुः ॥ १०.७.२६

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इति मन्त्रेण विहितमस्ति । सिमृक्षुर्जगदाधारभूतः परमात्मा प्रथमं पुराणं विवर्तयति । तद् विवर्तनमेव सृष्टिः । एवं पुराणं जगद्योनेर्महतो भूतस्य परमेश्वरस्यैकमङ्गमिति विज्ञानां सम्मतम् ।

प्राचीनकालादद्यावधि पुराणस्येदमेव रूपं मन्यन्ते आचार्याः ।

निदर्शनत्वेन वेदभाष्यकारस्याप्रतिमपाण्डित्यजुषः श्रीसायणाचार्य-
स्येदमुद्धरणं पर्याप्तं स्यात्—

५—“इदं वा अग्रे नैव किञ्चनासोन्न द्यौरासीदित्यादिकं जगतः प्रागवस्थानमुपक्रम्य सर्गप्रतिपादकं वाक्यजातं पुराणम्” (ऐतरेय-
भाष्यभूमिका)

सायणोद्धृतप्रतीकसदृशानि शतशो वाक्यानि वेदेषु । निदर्शनार्थं प्रस्तूयन्ते कानिचिदिह—

६—(क) विराड् वा इदमग्र आसोद्० (अथर्व ८.१०.(१).१)

(ख) को ददर्श प्रथमं जायमान-
मस्थन्वन्तं यदनस्था विभर्ति ।

भूम्या असुर सृगात्मा क्वचित्
को विद्रासमुपयात् प्रष्टुमेतत् ॥ स एव १।१।४.

(ग) नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं
नासीद्रजो नो व्योमा परो यत् ।

किमावरीव कुह कस्य शर्म-
न्मभः किमासीद् गहनं गभीरम् ॥

ऋग्वेद १०.१२९.१

नासदीयसूक्तस्य प्रथमोऽयं मन्त्रः, इदं सम्पूर्णं सूक्तम्, अस्यवामीयं सूक्तम्, पुरुषसूक्तादिका भाववृत्ताः^३ सर्वे मन्त्राः, एवम्प्रकारा अन्येऽपि च विकीर्णाः शतशो मन्त्राः पुराणमेव ।

३. भाववृत्तविषये बृहद्देवतापद्यानि कानिचिद् द्रष्टव्यानि—

आत्मनो भाववृत्तानि जगौ वर्गस्तथोत्तमः ।

उत्तमस्य तु वर्गस्य य ऋषेः सैव देवता ॥ २।८६

यथेदमग्रे नैवासीदसदप्यथवापि सत् ।

जज्ञे यथेदं सर्वं तद् जीववृत्तं वदन्ति तु ॥ २।११०

भाववृत्तं तु तद्वत् स्यात्तथारूपं हि दृश्यते ।

जरायुगर्भशब्दाभ्यामेतद्रूपं हि दृश्यते ॥ ५।८७, ऋग्वेदे ५ ७८।

५-९ कृते ।

वनस्पते वीड्वंगः परं यत्तदाचार्या भाववृत्तं वदन्ति । ५।११२

सूर्यायै भाववृत्तं तु रैभीरः प्राभिरुच्यते । ७।१२३

औषसी सर्वथा चैता भाववृत्तं प्रचक्षते । ७।१४०

एवमेव ७।१३५, ८।४६, ८।५६; ८।५९, ८।९१ च पद्यानि ।

मन्त्रमात्रमाथर्वणमन्त्रग्रामश्च ब्रह्मपदेन समाप्तायत इति नाविदितं वेदाध्ययनेऽपश्चिमानां विपश्चिताम् । ब्रह्मणो रहस्यमुद्घाटयितुं प्रवृत्तो वेदव्याख्यानराशिर्ब्राह्मणम् यत्रैकतो ब्राह्मणे वेदस्य निगूढान्याध्यात्मिकाधि-
देवतरहस्यानि विवृतानि तत्रैवापरतः प्राधान्येन यज्ञविज्ञानम् अर्थात् सृष्टिविज्ञानं सविस्तरं व्याख्यातमस्ति । फलतो मन्त्रवेदस्य समासरूपेण सङ्केतितं बीजभूतं पुराणं ब्राह्मणवेदेऽतीव चारुतया पल्लवितम् । पुराण-
स्यास्य स्वरूपमेतर्हि युगे वेदज्योतिर्विस्तारकैः श्रीदयानन्दसरस्वतीभिरेवं निर्दिष्टम्—

७— “सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयम् (छान्दोग्य०) आत्मा वा इदमेक एवाग्र आसीन्नान्यत् किञ्चन मिषत् (ऐतरेयोपनिषत्) आपो वा इदमग्रे सलिलमेवास (शतपथ ११.१.) इदं वा अग्रे नैव किञ्चिदासीत्,

इत्यादीनि जगतः पूर्वाविस्थाकथनपूर्वकाणि वचनानि ब्राह्मणान्तर्ग-
तान्येव पुराणानि ग्राह्याणि” (ऋग्वेदादिभाष्यभूमिका) एवं सुस्पष्ट-
मिदं यन्मन्त्रब्राह्मणारण्यकोपनिषत्सूत्रप्रभृतिसम्पूर्णवाङ्मयद्वाराभि-
हितं सृष्टिविद्यात्वेन गृहीतं पुराणं वेद एव ।

अस्येव पुराणवेदस्य लोकहितकाम्यया सप्रपञ्चं विशदं व्याख्यानं श्रीमद्भागवतादिपुराणेषु विहितमिति पुराणस्वरूपाख्यायिना—

(८) सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।

वंशानुचरितं चेति पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

इति पद्येन स्पष्टं निर्विवादरूपेण सर्वसम्मतञ्च ।

सृष्टिविद्यया साधमेव पुराणेषु इतिहास-गाथा-नाराशंस-श्लोक-
निगद-कुम्ब्या-वृथावाक्-वाकोवाक्य-सम्प्रश्नादि-वेदान.म्, धर्म-कर्म-कर्तव्यादि-
श्रौतस्मार्तार्थाचारपरम्पराणाम्, व्याकरणज्योतिषादिवेदाङ्गानाम्, आयुर्वेदा-
द्युपवेदानामन्येषाञ्च सुबहूनां कृत्स्नानां लोकविज्ञानविषयाणाञ्च यथा-
शक्यं व्यावहारिकया सुबोधया भाषया शैल्या च सन्निवेशो विहितः । ‘लोके
व्युत्पन्नस्य वेदार्थप्रतीति’ रिति पुराणकाराणां व्यवहारसूत्रं प्रमुखमु-
द्देश्यञ्च । पुराणकृतां पुरस्ताज् जिज्ञासुरूपेण सर्वेव जनतेति भगवतो
यास्कस्य ‘ऋषेर्दृष्टार्थस्य प्रीतिर्भवत्याख्यानसंयुक्ते’ति^४दृष्टिमविस्मृत्य
रोचनार्था फलश्रुति’ रिति सुहृत्कान्तासम्मितसाहित्यसत्यमविहायाख्यातो-
पाख्यानादिकमपि पुष्कलतया पुराणेषु सङ्गृहीतम् । एतदेव तद् वैशिष्ट्यं
येन पुराणसाहित्यं वस्तुतः पुराणम् अर्थात् चिरपुरातनम्—अपि सद्योतवीनं

४. ऋषेर्दृष्टार्थस्य प्रीतिर्भवत्याख्यानसंयुक्ता । निरुक्तम् १०।१०।२, १०।४६।१

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यथा भगवता यास्केन 'पुरा नवं भवती'ति^५ निर्वचनमुखेन तथ्यमिदं व्यक्ती-
कृतम् । स्वकीयमिममर्थं पूर्णतया चरितार्थं कुर्वन् पुराणवाङ्मयः स्वप्रतिपाद्य-
विषयेण सृष्ट्या सह चिरपुरातनोऽपि सदानवोऽत एव सनातन इति रूपेण
समरसो भूत्वा एतावदधिकं लोकप्रियो जातो यत् पुराणपदसम्पर्कसमकाल-
मेव सततवेदाभ्यासकृतधियां सुधियामपि ध्यानमस्मिन् विशिष्टग्रन्थ-
राशावेव केन्द्रितं जाते पुरा सर्वस्मादिदमेव नूयत इव पुरावा नवं-स्तवं
भवति प्राप्नोतीव । एतन्मूलं पुराणवेदपर्यन्तं मतिर्न मनागपि याति । एतदेव
कारणं यदाद्यशङ्कराचार्यादारभ्याद्यावधिकाः सर्वेऽपि प्रतिभानवन्तो विद्वांसो
मन्त्रभागमृग्यजुस्सामाथर्वनामतो वहिर्द्रष्टुमपि न पारयन्ति । श्रीदयानन्द-
सरस्वतीमहाभागाः अथर्वब्रह्मणः पुराणपदेन प्रतिपाद्यं विषयजातं
ब्राह्मणेष्वेव पश्यन्ति विनैव विनिगमनामेव पदेन तत्रैव नियमितं कुर्वन्ति
च^६ । पौराणिकत्वेन प्रसिद्धा विज्ञाश्च श्रुतिस्थपुराणपदस्य सम्बन्धं
श्रीमद्भागवतादिभिर्योजयन्ति व्यासप्रभृतिप्रोक्तपुराणराशेर्वेदादपि प्रतन-
तरत्वमभिदधति च ।^७ द्वावेतावतिरेकौ ।

वेदानां वेदस्य पुराणवेदस्य प्रतिपाद्येनैवैतेषां पुराणानां सम्बन्धस्ते-
नैव च गतार्थंतेति महत्तथ्यं विस्मृतम् । अतएव विपुल ज्ञानराशेः पुराण-
वाङ्मयस्य "पुराणं प्रथमं गप्पम्" इति रूपेण तिरस्कारोऽक्रियत श्रीदयानन्दैः
समर्थ्यते च तदनुयायिभिस्सर्वात्मनाद्यापि तद् विहाय श्रीभगवद्भक्तसदृशान्
द्वित्रान् कृतशास्त्रश्रमान् विदुषः । भगवतो वेदव्यासस्येयं भारतीया श्रुतिः
सततं स्मरणीया यत्—

(६) इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदार्थमुप बृंहयेत् ।

विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद् वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥

१.१.२०४

वेदार्थकृत्स्नताधिगम एव पुराणानां वास्तविकमुद्देश्यम् । सत्यमेवाद्य भूयो
विद्यताया अभावे वेदेषु नानादिग्भ्यः निपतन्त्यभीक्षणम् ।

केषाञ्चित् पाश्चात्यानां तत्तादृग्विचारसरणिवतां भारतीयानां
विदुषां च पुराणादिविद्यास्थानान्युपेक्ष्य विहितं वेदाध्ययनमस्य निदर्शनम् ।
एतत् परिणामोऽपि सुतरां प्रत्यक्षं यत्ते वेदेषु क्वचिदपि सुनिश्चितं विचार-

५. पुराणं कस्मात् पुरातनं भवति । निरुक्तम् ३.१९.२४

६. श्रीदयानन्दसरस्वतीकृतायाम्—ऋग्वेदादिभाष्यभूमिकायाम् वेदसंज्ञा-
विचारविषये, तथा ब्राह्मणग्रन्थानामेव पुराणेतिहासादिनामास्ति न
ब्रह्मवैवर्तश्रीमद्भागवतादीनाञ्चेतिसमारभ्य..... वचनानि
ब्राह्मणान्तर्गतान्येव पुराणानि ग्राह्यानीत्यन्तो भागः । अन्तिमो भागः
७मोद्धरणे द्रष्टव्यः ।

७. अत्र श्रीबलदेवोपाध्यायकृतः पुराणविमर्शो द्रष्टव्यः

धारामेकसूत्रात्मकतामुदात्तभावप्रौढि वा द्रष्टुं न पारयन्ति । तेषां दृष्टो यज्ञोऽपि यः सृष्ट्यामनवरतप्रवर्तमानानां प्राकृतयज्ञानां प्रतिकृतिः सन् विज्ञानवेदस्य सुसमृद्धप्रयोगशालाया महत्त्वमाप्नोति केवलमदृष्टफलजनको वातावरणं शोधयितुमुपयोगि धार्मिकमनुष्ठानमात्रं वा भूत् ।

इदमन्यत्र विचारणीयं यद् वेदस्य विभिन्नवैज्ञानिक-प्रक्रियाणां मनोरमं प्रौढं व्याख्यानम्, वेदस्याध्यात्मिकाधिदैविकाधिभौतिकतत्त्वानां विश्लेषणपूर्वकमाविष्करणम्, वैदिकीमाचारपद्धतिं जीवनस्य सजीवाङ्गता-मापादयितुं प्रकृष्टतमसाधनभूतानां संस्काराणां रमणीयरूपेण प्रस्तुतीकरणम् वैदिकसूक्तानां हृदयसंरक्षणपूर्वकं सामान्यपरिवर्तनमात्रेण लोक-भाषायां सर्वसंवेद्यत्वापादनं पुराणानामनुपमं वैशिष्ट्यम् ।

संक्षेपत इदं कथितुं शक्यते यत् पुराणवाङ्मयः पुराणवेदस्य तद्-व्याख्याभूतस्य ब्राह्मणपुराणस्य च सुन्दरं सुस्पष्टं विस्तृतं भाष्यमस्ति ।

पुराणेष्वसम्बद्धतायाः कपोलकल्पनाया वा दर्शनं न केवल-मसत्कल्पना प्रत्युत आर्षपरम्परां प्रतिकृतघनता वेदार्थज्ञानस्य प्रशस्तात् समृद्धाच्च प्रस्थानात् पराङ्मुखत्वेनात्मधातिन्या वृत्तेः पोषणं च ।

वाह्यरचनादृशा मन्त्राणां त्रिविधत्वमेव सम्भवति पद्यमयत्वं गद्य-मयत्वं गीतिमयत्वं वा । अतो वेदोऽप्यनया दृशा त्रिविध एव । अर्थदशेन पादव्यवस्थारूपपद्यात्मक ऋग्वेदः, गीतिरूपस्सामवेदः, शेषश्च यजुर्वेदः । अत एव वेदस्य त्रयीति संज्ञापि । त्रयीपदस्य हृदयमबुधाना मुधैव कल्पना-जालपतिता अथर्ववेदस्य परवर्तित्वं प्रतिपादयन्ति ।

‘यज्ञमूलकर्त्तृत्वकर्मविनियोगदृशा होतृ-अध्वर्यु-उद्गातृ-ब्रह्मणा सम्बन्धेन वेदस्य ऋग्यजुस्सामाथर्वभिधया चतुष्टयम् । परस्सहस्रैः श्रुतिमन्त्रैर्य-ज्ञस्यानादिता, अतो यज्ञक्रियामूलवेदविभागस्य चतुष्टयमप्यनादि श्रुति-प्रमाणसिद्धञ्च । यच्चैके—

तदेतत्सत्यम्—मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि कवयो यान्यपश्यन्

त्रेतायां तानि बहुधा सन्ततानि,

तान्याचरथ नियतं सत्यकामाः,

एष वः पन्था सुकृतस्य लोके ॥१.२.१

८. ऋचां त्वः पोषमास्ते पुपुष्वान् गायत्रं त्वो गायति शक्वरीषु ।

ब्रह्मा त्वो वदति जातविद्यां यज्ञस्य मात्रां विमिमीत उत्वः ॥

ऋक् १०.७१.११

इति ऋत्विक्कर्मणां विनियोगमाचष्टे । ऋचामेकः पोषमास्ते पुपुष्वान् होता । गायत्रीमेको गायति शक्वरीषूद्गाता । ब्रह्मैको जाते-जाते विद्यां वदति । यज्ञस्य मात्रां विमिमीतैकोऽध्वर्युः । (निरुक्तम् १.८.१)

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इति मुण्डकश्रुत्या त्रेतायुगाद् यज्ञस्य प्रवृत्तिरिति यन्मन्यन्ते तदसत् त्रेता-
पदस्याग्नित्रयवाचकत्वात् । अस्ति हि वैदिकेषु त्रित्वसिद्धान्तप्रसिद्धिरपि ।
तदर्थमपि सङ्केतो भवितुमर्हति त्रेतापदस्य । युगाख्या तु गौणी त्रेता-
प्राधान्यात्तत्र ।

वेद-प्रतिपाद्य-वस्तु-वर्गीकरणदृशा पुराणेतिहासगाथानिगदकुम्भ्याद्य-
नेके भेदा वेदस्य । अत एव 'अनन्ता वेदा' इति सनातनः शिष्टव्यवहारः ।
ब्राह्मणादिष्वभिधानानामेषां प्रसङ्गवशात् प्रयोगोऽपि दृश्यते ।

यथा—

१०—(क) 'पञ्चवेदान् निरमिमीत सर्पवेदं । पिशाचवेदमसुरवेदमितिहास-
वेदं पुराणवेदम्' १।१

इति गोपथ (पूर्वभाग) श्रुतौ सर्पवेदाद्यभिधानानि सुस्पष्टं निर्दिष्टानि ।
नायं लाक्षणिकः प्रयोगः । पूर्वम् (१ क) उद्धृतायाम् 'ऋचः सामानि०'
इति श्रुतौ ऋगादिचतुष्टयमध्यवर्तिनः 'पुराणस्य' वेदत्वमनपलापनीयम् ।
स एव पुराणवेदोऽत्र सर्पवेदादिभिस्सह पठित इति तत्साहचर्यात् सर्पवेदा-
दयोऽपि वेदा एव ।

(ख) 'इयं वै सर्पराज्ञी, देवा वै सर्पास्तेषामियं राज्ञी' ।

(ऐतरेयब्रा० ५.४.४)

'इयं वै सर्पतो राज्ञी' (तत्तिरीयब्राह्मणम् १.४.६.६)

इति सर्पराज्ञीव्याख्यानपराणि वाक्यानि सर्पस्वरूपं सङ्केतयन्त्येवंविधज्ञान
विधानपरो वेदस्सर्पवेद इति स्पष्टं प्रतीयते । "आयंगौपृश्नि" रिति तृचं
गायत्रं सर्पराज्ञी नामर्षिका सैव देवतेति ऋग्वेदीया सर्वानुक्रमणिकाप्य-
त्रानुसन्धेया । मन्त्रत्रयमिदं वाजसेनयेऽपि ।

(ग) "यो अन्तरिक्षेण पतति दिवं यश्चाति सपति ।

भूमिं यो मन्यते नाथं तं पिशाचं प्रदर्शय ॥"

अथर्व ४।२.॥९

अत्र पिशाचपदं न लोकप्रसिद्धः पिशिताशनो योनिविशेष इति मन्त्रवर्णात्
स्पष्टमेव । योऽन्तरिक्षेण गच्छति, दिवमप्यत्याक्रामति भूमिं च दधाति
जानाति स्तस्नाति वा, एतादृशं नाथं तं पिशाचं प्रकर्षेण दर्शय मह्यमिति
सामान्योऽर्थः ।

यथा लोकेऽसुरपदं देवविरोधित्वेन प्रतीतम्, वेदे त्विममर्थमभि-
दधदपि परमात्मवाचकमपि, तथैवेदं पदमपि विविधार्थम् । वाक्कर्म-

प्रज्ञार्थकं शचीपदमप्यत्रानुसंधातव्यम्^९ । अपि शचतीति पिशाच इति व्युत्पत्तिरपि विचारणीया । 'शच व्यक्तायां वाची'ति धातुपाठेषु पठ्यत एव निघण्टुव्याख्यायां यज्वन्ता गत्यर्थोऽपि निर्दिशितः । पिशाचवेदस्वरूपानुसन्धाने सर्वमिदं साहायकमिति दिङ्मात्रेण प्रदर्शितमत्र । एतदेव पुराणादिवाङ्मये देवस्थानरूपेणाभिव्यक्तम् । तद्यथा—

(घ) “ब्रह्मादयः पिशाचान्ता यं हि देवा उपासते” अनुशासनपर्व १४.४
अत्र पिशाचस्य देवत्वमुक्तम् । अन्यत्रापि—

(ङ) “वर्णाश्रमाणां धर्मोऽयं देवस्थानेषु कारणम् ।
ब्रह्मादीनि पिशाचान्तान्यष्टौ स्थानानि देवताः ॥”

वायुपु० १०२।६७

स्पष्टमेवात्राष्टौ देवस्थानानि गणितानि तेषु विद्यते पिशाचोऽन्यतमो वर्णाश्रमधर्मकारणः । अत एव पुराणेऽस्मिन् स्वर्गस्थानरूपे सात्त्विक-संसारेऽस्य गणना ।

तथा हि :—

(च) “सात्त्विकश्चापि संसारो ब्रह्मादिः परिकीर्तितः ।

पिशाचान्तः स विज्ञेयः स्वर्गस्थानेषु देहिनाम् ॥” १४.४१

एभिः स्थानैः पिशाचादीन् देवान् साधयित्वा मुक्तिपथाभिमानो भवति साधक इत्यपि पुराणेऽस्मिन्मुक्तम्—

(छ) “देवस्थानेषु सर्वेषु सर्वतस्तु निवर्तते । १२-३९

पैशाचेन पिशाचांश्च राक्षसेन च राक्षसान् ।

गान्धर्वेण च गन्धर्वान् कौबेरेण कुबेरजान् ॥४०

इन्द्रमैन्द्रेण स्थानेन सौम्यं सौम्येन चैव हि ।

प्रजापतिं तथा चैव प्राजापत्येन साधयेत् ॥४१॥

ब्राह्मं ब्राह्मेण चाप्येवमुपासन्त्रयते प्रभुम् ।

तत्र सक्तस्तु उन्मत्तस्तस्मात्सर्वं प्रवर्तते ॥४२॥

नित्यं ब्रह्मपरो युक्तः स्थानान्येतानि वै त्यजेत् ।

असंज्जमानः स्थानेषु द्विजः सर्वगतो भवेत्” ॥४३॥

९. शचीपदं १.११ ४९, २.१.२२, ३.९ ८ निघण्टौ क्रमशः वाक्कर्मप्रज्ञा-
नामसु पठितमस्ति । शचव्यक्तायां वाचि १.१०१ धातुसूत्रम् (क्षीर-
तरङ्गिणी) ।

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सांख्यकारिकायां भौतिकसर्गाख्यानम्—

(ज) “अष्ट विकल्पो दैवस्तैर्यग्योनश्च पञ्चधा भवति ।

मानुष्यश्चैकविधः समासतो भौतिकः सर्गः ॥५३॥

इत्युक्तोऽष्टविकल्पदैवसर्गोऽयमेवेति सुव्यक्तम् ।

मोक्षशास्त्रापरपर्याये तत्त्वार्थाधिगमशास्त्रेऽपि चतुर्णिकायेषु देवेषु
व्यन्तरभेदे पिशाचस्य गणना—

(झ) “व्यन्तराः किन्नरकिम्पुरुषमहोरगगन्धर्वयक्षराक्षसभूतपिशाचाः” ।

(४.१२)

पिशाचवेदानुसन्धाने सर्वमिदं सुधीभिर्विभावनीयम् ।

असुरपदविषये तु नास्ति बहुवक्तव्यम् । सूर्याग्नीन्द्रपरमात्म-
कृतेऽतीव प्रसिद्धाः शतशः प्रयोगा अस्य वैदिकेषु वेदमन्त्रगताः । प्राणप्रदं
प्राणविच्छेदकं मेधाकरमतो मेध्यं मेधाहरमतोऽमेध्यं वा प्रत्येकं तत्त्वमसुर
इति ‘असून् प्राणान् असुं मेधां वा राति दत्त आदत्ते वेति’ तद्व्युत्पत्यैव
सुतरां ज्ञेयम् । अत एव ‘अवेस्तावाङ्मये’ परमात्मनः ‘अहुरमज्दा’ इति
नाम, यत्र असुरपदप्रकृतिकः ‘अहुर’ इत्यपभ्रंशः । आत्मना सृष्टेषु चतुष्पु
लोकेषु ‘अम्भोः’ प्रथमः, तत्रांभोऽपि ‘देव मनुष्य पित्रसुर’ भेदेन चतुर्विधम् ।
तथाहि—

११—(क) “आत्मा वा इदमेक एवाग्र आसीत् । नान्यत् किञ्चन मिषत् ।
स ईक्षत ‘लोकान्सृजत’ इति । (ऐतरेयोपनिषत् १.१.१)”

“स इमाँल्लोकान्सृजत । अम्भो मरीचीर्मरमापः” (सैव १.१.२)

“चत्वारो वाम्भांसि देवा मनुष्याः पितरोऽसुराः”

पुराणादिवाङ्मय इदमेवाख्यानरूपेणोपवर्णितम्, यथा—

(ख) “ततो देवासुरपितृन् मनुष्यांश्च चतुष्टयम् ।

सिसृक्षुरम्भांस्येतानि स्वमात्मनमयूयुजत् ॥

विष्णु पु० १.५.३०

युक्तात्मनस्तमोमात्रा ह्युद्विक्ताभूत् प्रजापतेः ।

सिसृक्षोर्जघनात् पूर्वमसुरा जज्ञिरे ततः” ॥३१॥

असुस्थानीयाज्जघनादेवासुरोत्पत्तिर्लङ्घेऽपि प्रोक्ता—

“ततोऽस्य जघनात् पूर्वमसुरा जज्ञिरे सुताः ।

असुः प्राणः स्मृतो विप्राः तज्जन्या न ततोऽसुराः” ।

पूर्व ७७।१९९

ब्रह्माण्डपुराणेऽपीदं तथ्यं प्रकटीकृतम्—

“मुखाद्देवानसृजत् पितृन् चैवाथ वक्षसः ।

प्रजानामनुष्यान् वै जघनान्निर्ममेऽसुरान् ॥ १।५।८५

भगवता यास्केनासुरपदं निर्वचता निरुक्त एतद्विषयकं ब्राह्मणवचनमुदघार्य-
सुरपदाभिप्रायाविष्कारि—

(ग) ‘सो’देवानसृजत । तत् सुराणां सुरत्वम् । असोरसुरानसृजत । तद-
सुराणामसुरत्वमिति विज्ञायते” । (३.८)

श्रीमद्भागवते (३.२०. २२-२३) पुराणेषु चान्येष्वपि सृष्टिविद्याया-
मसुरसृष्टिर्निरूपिता । एवं सर्वज्ञानमये वेदे सृष्टिस्थानविशेषस्यासुरतत्त्वस्य
विज्ञानमर्हत्येव स्थानमित्यसुरवेदो न लाक्षणिकी संज्ञा ।

‘इति ह आस’ इत्येवरूपेण साधिकारं प्रमास्थापनरूपं प्रामाणिकं
वक्तव्यमपि क्व सम्भवि स्वतः प्रमाणाद् वेदान्यत्रेति वेद एव वस्तुत
इतिहासः । पारम्पर्योपदेशरूपार्थे रूढिरपि पदस्यास्येतिहासवेदमूलैव ।
प्रसङ्गोऽयं विस्तृतविचारमपेक्षते । अत्र केवलमेतावदेव प्रस्तूयते यदितिहास-
पदस्य न केवलमतीतघटनाप्रतिपादनरूपोऽर्थः । महाभारतादावार्षवाङ्मये
भगवन्नामसु पदमिदं बहुधा प्रायुज्यत । भगवता यास्केनापि ४।६

१२— “तत्र ब्रह्मेतिहासमिश्रमृङ्मिश्रं गाथामिश्रं भवति”

इति वेदस्येतिहासमिश्रत्वमुक्तम् । तद्धृदयमविदित्वैव पूर्वापरपक्ष-
रूपमहाप्रासादकल्पनं विहितमभित्तावेवाधुनिकैर्दोषज्ञनिवहैः । एवं
स्पष्टीभवति यत् सर्पवेदादिप्रयोगो न कथमपि भाक्तः ।

गोपथब्राह्मणेऽस्मिन्नेव प्रकरणे वेदानामेतेषां दिक्सम्बन्धोऽपि
निर्धारितः, तथाहि—

१३— “स खलु प्राच्या एव दिशः सर्पवेदं निरमिमीत, दक्षिणस्याः पिशाच-
वेदं प्रतीच्या असुरवेदमुदीच्या इतिहासवेदं ध्रुवायाश्चोर्ध्वायाश्च
पुराणवेदम्” इति ।

एभ्यः पञ्चवेदेभ्यः पञ्चव्याहृतीनामुत्पत्तिरपि दर्शितात्रैव ।
तथा हि—

१४— “स एतान् पञ्चवेदानभ्यश्चाम्यदभ्यतपत् समतपत् । तेभ्यः श्रान्ते-
भ्यस्तप्तेभ्यः सन्तप्तेभ्यः पञ्च महाव्याहृती निरमिमीत वृधत् कर्त्तु
गुहत् महत् तदिति । वृधदिति सर्पवेदात् कर्ददिति पिशाचवेदात्,
गुहदित्यसुरवेदात्, महदित्येतिहासवेदात्, तदिति पुराणवेदात्”
इति ।

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प्रकरणेऽस्मिन्नसकृत् पञ्चवेदपुराणवेदपदे समायाते इति न सन्देह-
लेशेनापि शिष्टव्यं पुराणस्य वेदत्वे ।

ऋगादिविषयिण्येतादृश्येवाविर्भूतिशशातपथश्रुतावपि निर्दिष्टा, तत्प्र-
काशेऽपि सिद्धत्वं सर्पवेदादीनां वेदत्वम्, यथा—

१५— “प्रजापतिर्वा इदमग्र आसीदेक एव । सोऽकामयत स्यां प्रजायेयेति ।
सोऽश्रामयत स तपोऽस्तप्यत । तस्माच्छ्रान्तात्त्वेपानात्त्रयो लोका
असृज्यन्त । पृथिव्यन्तरिक्षं द्यौः” । १ ।

“स इमांस्त्रींल्लोकानभितताप । तेभ्यस्तप्येभ्यस्त्रीणि
ज्योतींष्यजायन्त । अग्निर्योऽयं पवते सूर्यः” । २ ।

“स इमानि त्रीणि ज्योतींष्यभितताप । तेभ्यस्तप्येभ्यस्त्रयो
वेदा अजायन्त । अग्नेर्ऋग्वेदो वायोर्यजुर्वेदः सूर्यात् सामवेदः” । ३ ।

“स इमांस्त्रीन् वेदानभितताप । तेभ्यस्तप्येभ्यस्त्रीणि शुक्राण्य-
जायन्त । भूरित्यृग्वेदात् भुव इति यजुर्वेदात् स्वरिति सामवेदात् ।
(११.५.८-४)

यदात्र निर्दिष्टा एत एव ऋग्वेदादयः प्रचलितेऽर्थे वेदत्वेन गृहीता-
स्सन्ति तर्हि गोपथश्रुतौ निर्दिष्टाः सर्पवेदादयः कथं न ग्राह्या वेदत्वेन ?
नैतादृशानि नामानि श्रुतपूर्वाणीति नायं शास्त्रदोषः । नैष स्थाणोरपराधो
यदेनमन्धो न पश्यति । अस्यामेव शातपथश्रुतौ भगवता याज्ञवल्क्येन पञ्च
महायज्ञप्रसंगे ब्रह्मयज्ञस्य स्वाध्यायस्य महिमवर्णने पुराणादीनां स्पष्टमेव
वेदत्वमभाणि । तथा हि—

१६— “स्वाध्यायो वै ब्रह्मयज्ञः । पय आहुतयो ह वा एता देवानां यदृचः ।
स य एवं विद्वानृचोऽहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते पय आहुतिभिरेव तद् देवां
स्तर्पयति । ४ ।

आज्याहुतयो ह वा एता देवानां यद्यजृषि । स य एवं विद्वान्
यजृष्यहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते, आज्याहुतिभिरेव तद्देवांस्तर्पयति । ५ ।

सोमाहुतयो ह वा एता देवानां यत् सामानि । स य एवं विद्वान्
सामान्यहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते सोमाहुतिभिरेव तद्देवांस्तर्पयति । ६ ।

मेद आहुतयो ह वा देवानां यदथर्वाङ्गिरसः । स य एवं
विद्वानथर्वाङ्गिरसोऽहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते । मेदआहुतिभिरेव तद्देवां-
स्तर्पयति । ७ ।

मध्वाहुतयो ह वा एता देवानां यदनुशासनानि विद्या वाको-
वाक्यमितिहासपुराणं गाथा नाराशंस्यः । स य एवं विद्वाननुशास-
नानि विद्या वाकोवाक्यमितिहासपुराणं गाथा नाराशंसीरित्यहरहः
स्वाध्यायमधीते मध्वाहुतिभिरेव तद्देवाँस्तर्पयति” । ८ ।

(शत. ब्रा. ११.५.६)

अत्र यथा ऋचः स्वाध्यायमधीते, यजूंषि स्वाध्यायमधीते, सामानि
स्वाध्यायमधीते, अथर्वाङ्गिरसः स्वाध्यायमधीते चेति प्रोक्तं तथैव
तस्मिन्नेव क्रमे विना वर्णकस्यापि व्यत्ययम् अनुशासनानि स्वाध्यायमधीते
विद्याः स्वाध्यायमधीते, वाकोवाक्यं स्वाध्यायमधीते, इतिहासपुराणं
स्वाध्यायमधीत इत्युक्तम् । एतावति सुस्पष्टेऽपि कथने केवलमृगादीनामेव
वेदत्वमङ्गीकरणमन्येषाञ्च ब्राह्मणादिष्वन्तर्भावनं किमन्यद् बुद्धेर्जाड्यात् ?

परं महद् वैशसमिदं यदेतादृशं साभिनिवेशं बुद्धि-मान्द्यं दृश्यत एव
सर्वत्र विदुषाम् । सुप्रसिद्धे वार्हदारण्यकोपनिषदिके—

१७— “एवं वा अरेऽस्य महतो भूतस्य निश्वसितमेतद्यद्देवो यजुर्वेदः
सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः
सूत्राण्यनुव्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानान्यस्यैवैतानि निश्वसितानि” ।
(२.४.१०)

इत्युद्धरणे प्रत्यक्षमेतादृशी वृत्तिर्दृश्यते । १० आ भगवतः श्रीमदाद्य-
शङ्कराचार्यात् पण्डितवर्यश्रीब्रह्म^{११} दत्तजिज्ञासुपर्यन्तं सर्वेऽप्याचार्या
विद्वांसश्च ‘निश्वसितम्’ इति पदस्य व्याप्तिं केवलमथर्वाङ्गिरसपदं
यावदुररीकृत्येतिहासपदात् ‘व्याख्यानानि’ पदपर्यन्तं भागं पूर्वस्मात् पृथक्
कृत्य निश्वसितानी’ ति पदव्याप्तौ गृहीत्वा प्रथमं वेदं द्वितीयं पुनर्ब्राह्मण-
सामनन्ति । प्रथमनिश्वसिताद् द्वितीयं निश्वसितं विलक्षणं मत्वेतिहासादीनां
परमात्मनः साक्षान्निश्वसितव्याहृतावप्येकेषामापत्तिः ।

१०. बृहदारण्यकस्यात्रत्या भगवच्छंकराचार्यव्याख्या द्रष्टव्या ।

११. “शब्दो द्विविधो नित्योऽनित्यश्च । उभयेषामपि स्रोतस्तु वेद एव । तत्र
ऋग्यजुस्सामाथर्वणस्तु साक्षादीश्वरस्य निश्वसितम् । अवशिष्टानीतिहासा-
द्यनुव्याख्यानान्तानि परम्परासम्बन्धेनेश्वरनिश्वसितानि । यदा वेदः
स्वयमृग्यजुस्सामाथर्वणो यज्ञरूपाद् वेदात् प्रादुर्भूतान् मन्यते तदा परतः
प्रमाणं शतपथब्राह्मणं कथमुपनिषदादीन् ब्रह्मानश्वासं वक्तुं पारयेत्
..... इदमप्यत्रावधेयं यदारम्भे निश्वसितमिति पदमागतं तदा पुन-
निश्वसितानीति पदस्यावश्यकतैव का ? द्वयोनिश्वसितयोर्भेद इत्येवमस्य
तात्पर्यः ।” इति श्रीब्रह्मदत्तजिज्ञासूनामभिप्रायो यजुर्वेदभाष्यभूमिका-
स्थस्य द्वितीये पृष्ठे द्वितीयटिप्पणीस्थस्य ग्रन्थस्थ ।

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वस्तुत एकवचनान्तस्य निश्चसितस्य एकवचनोक्तेषु पुराणान्त-
पदेष्वनुवृत्तिः । बहुवचनेषु विद्यादिषु बहुवचनान्तनिश्चसितपदस्य व्याप्ति-
रिति न्याय्य ऋजुश्च पन्था शाब्दबोधे । 'अस्यैवे'त्यवधारणेन द्वयोर्वै-
लक्षण्यस्य सुस्पष्टं निषेधश्च । स्वाध्यायब्राह्मणस्योपसंहारवाक्येनाप्येतेषाम-
वैलक्षण्यं नितरां स्पष्टम् । तथाहि—

१८— “ये ह वै केचन श्रमा द्यावापृथिवी अन्तरेण स्वाध्यायो ह वै तेषां
परमता काष्ठा । य एवं विद्वान् स्वाध्यायमधीते तस्मात् स्वाध्यायो
ऽध्येतव्यः । (शत. ब्रा. ११.५.७.२)

यन्ति वा आपः, एत्यादित्यः, एति चन्द्रमाः, यन्ति
नक्षत्राणि । यथा वा एता देवता नेयुर्न कुर्युः । एवं ह वै तद ह ब्राह्मणो
भवति यदह स्वाध्यायं नाधीते । तस्मात् स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः ।
तस्मादपि ऋचं वा यजुर्वा साम वा गाथां वा कुम्भ्यां वाभिव्याहरेद्
व्रतस्याविच्छेदाय इति” (११.५.७.१०)

अनेन स्पष्टं भवति यद् ऋग्यजुस्सामगाथाकुम्भ्या वेदस्य बाह्यरचना
मूला वाग्विषया भेदाः (अपि) अभिव्याहरण (पठन) मतेषामेव
भवतीत्युपसंहारेऽथर्वाङ्गिरसपुराणादयो न गणिताः । अथर्ववेदे हि ऋचोऽपि
यजुष्यपि । पुराणादयश्च विषया इति तेषां पाठोऽपि ऋगादिमाध्यमेनैवेति
विषयनिर्देशं विना केवलं पाठचानामृगादीनां ग्रहणमुपसंहारवाक्ये ।

गोपथोक्तसर्पवेदादयो भङ्ग्यन्तरेण छान्दोग्येऽपि गणिताः । भगवन्तं
सतत्कुमारं प्रति देवब्रह्मा नारदः स्वाध्ययनमावेदयतिः—

१९— “स होवाचर्ग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थ-
मितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं पित्र्यं राशिं दैवं निर्धि वाको-
वाक्यं देवविद्यां ब्रह्मविद्यां भूतविद्यां क्षत्रविद्यां नक्षत्रविद्यां सर्पजन-
देवविद्यामेतद्भगवोऽध्येमि” । (७.१.२)

अत्र यथा चतुर्थमाथर्वणं तथैव पञ्चमं साजात्यक्रमे पुराणं गणयति
नारदः । सर्पवेदः सर्पजनदेवविद्यानाम्ना गृहीतः । एवमिमे सर्वे वेदा
एवात्र गणिताः ।

सर्पवेदादीनां स्वरूपं शातपथीये पारिप्लवाख्यानब्राह्मणे व्यक्तीकृत-
मास्ते, तत्तत्रैव द्रष्टव्यमत्र तु प्रकृतोपयोगी स्वल्प एवांश उद्दिश्यतेः—

२०— (क) “अथ नवमेऽहन्नेवमेव.....तानुपदिशति पुराणं वेदः सोयम् इति
किञ्चित् पुराणमाचक्षीत” (१३.४.३.१३)

अत्र 'पुराणं वेदः' इति कण्ठेनोपात्तम् इतः पूर्वं प्रथमाहादिक्रमेण ऋचो यजूंष्यथर्वाणि आङ्गिरस सर्पविद्या देवजनविद्या माया इतिहास इत्यष्टानां वेदानां गणना । अतः परं दशमेऽङ्गि साम्नामाख्यानस्य च निर्देशः । एवम् ऋक्सामवेदयोर्मध्यवर्तिनः सर्वेऽप्येते सर्पविद्यादयो वेदा वेदा एव ।

अन्यत्रापि शतपथे—

(ख) "ऋग्वेदो वै भर्गः, यजुर्वेदो महः, सामवेदो यशः, येऽन्ये वेदास्तत्सर्वम्" (१२.३.५.९)

इत्युक्तम् । ऋग्यजुस्साम्नां गणनां कृत्वापि 'येऽन्ये वेदा' इति बहुवचननिर्देशो न्यूनातिन्यूनं वेदत्रयान्तरस्यास्तित्वं सूचयति यच्च वेदचतुष्टयात्मिकायाः प्रचलितलोकाप्रसिद्धेर्विलक्षणम् चत्वार एव वेदा इति अवधारणात्मको राधान्तस्त्वाहो पुरुषिकामात्रमेवेति स्फुटम् ।

पुराणपदस्य केवलं पुरातनेत्येवार्थो नव्यप्रतियोगीति यावन्न भवति । 'सर्गरचना' इति प्रतनवाङ्मयप्रसिद्धोऽर्थोऽधुना सर्वथैव विस्मारितः । निदर्शयते तत् किञ्चित्—

२१—(क) "पुराणे पुरुषं प्रोक्तं ब्रह्म प्रोक्तं युगादिषु ।
क्षये सङ्कर्षणं प्रोक्तं तमुपास्यमुपास्महे ॥"

इति भीष्मस्तवराजीयं सुप्रसिद्धं पद्यम् । पुराणपदेन पुराणं नाम वाङ्मयोऽत्रेदानीन्तनैरभीष्यते । परं युगादि-क्षय-पदयोः सन्निधाने पुराणस्य नायमर्थो युक्तः । ब्रह्म विभक्तिं सङ्कर्षणो नाशयति पुरुषि सीव्यन् पुरुषु सीदन् वा पुरुष उत्पादयति इति तत्सम्बन्धात् पुराणं सर्गरचना । एक एव महानात्मा सृष्टिस्थितिलयेषु क्रमशः १२ पुरुषब्रह्मसङ्कर्षण रूप इति स एवोपास्य इति फलितोऽर्थः । अस्मिन्नर्थे—

(ख) "कालाख्यः पुरुषाख्यश्च ब्रह्माख्यश्च त्वमेव हि ।

तनवस्ते स्मृतास्तिस्रः पुराणज्ञैः सुरर्षिभिः ॥

अनुशा० प. १६।१७

इति भारतवचनान्तरमपि सहायकम् । अत्र संकर्षणः कालाख्यः, पुराणज्ञैश्च सृष्टितत्त्ववेत्तुभिरिति । आर्षवाङ्मये सर्वत्राप्येतादृशेषु स्थलेष्वयमेवार्थो न्याय्यो ज्यायांश्च यथाः—

१२. सहस्रशीर्षा सुमनाः सहस्रपात् सहस्रचक्षुर्वदनः सहस्रभुक् ।

सहस्रबाहुः प्रथमः प्रजापतिः त्रयीपथेयः पुरुषो निरुच्यते ॥

इति ७।१६ वायुपुराणीयं वाक्यम् 'सर्वं वै सहस्र' मिति ब्राह्मणश्रुति-वचनमप्यत्रानुसन्धेयम् ।

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२२— “शतं त्वेवं समाख्यातं रुद्राणाममितौजसाम् ।

पुराणे भरतश्रेष्ठ ! यैर्व्याप्ताः सचराचराः ॥” हरिवंशम् १.३.५३

अत्रापि पुराणे सृष्टिकाले इत्यर्थ एव साधुः । वेदेषु शतरुद्रियम्
समाप्नातम् । विशेषतो यजुर्वेदस्याध्वरयुस्वरूपस्य तत्सर्वस्वम् । यच्च

वेदे चास्य समाप्नातं शतरुद्रियमुत्तमम् । द्रोण प० ४२।१२०

सामवेदश्चवेदानां यजुषां शतरुद्रियम् ॥ अनुशा० प० १४।३२३

इति भारतीयवचनेन स्पष्टम् । एतदेवात्र पुराणपदेनाभिप्रेतम् । प्रसंगान्तरै-
र्भगवतो रुद्रस्य विश्वरूपस्य विविधरूपैः सृष्टिकारणत्वं स्पष्टीभवति ।
निदर्शनार्थं कानिचिद् वचनानि प्रस्तूयन्तेऽत्रः—

२३— “द्वे तनू तस्य देवस्य वेदज्ञा ब्राह्मणा विदुः ।

घोरा चान्या शिवा चान्या द्वे तनू बहुधा पुनः ॥ द्रो० प० २०२।१०७

घोरा तु या तनुस्तस्य सोऽग्निर्विष्णुः सभास्करः ।

सौम्या तु पुनरेवास्य आपो ज्योतीषि चन्द्रमाः ॥ १०८

सन्ति नो बहवो रुद्राः शूलहस्ताः कपर्दिनः ।

एकादशस्थानगता नाहं वेद्मि महेश्वरम् ॥ शांतिप० २८४।२०

एकादशैते रुद्रास्तु विकारपुरुषाः स्मृताः । ३४०।३७

एते रुद्रा एव विकारपुरुषत्वेन प्रसिद्धा वैकारिका देवा यथाः—

तैजसानीन्द्रियाण्याहुर्देवा वैकारिकादश ।

एकादशं मनश्चात्र देवा वैकारिकाः स्मृताः ॥

विष्णु पु० १।२।४६-४७

श्रीमद्भागवते वैकारिकदेवानां गणनोद्देशतः कृता, तथाहि—

“वैकारिकान्मनो जज्ञे देवा वैकारिका दश ।

दिग्वातार्कप्रचेतोऽश्विवह्नीन्द्रोपेन्द्रमित्रकाः ॥ २।५।३०

एवं ‘पुराणे’ रुद्राणां स्वरूपं व्याप्तिश्च स्पष्टे ।

वेदादप्युदाहरणान्तरमेकं निवेद्यते—

२४— चाक्लृपे तेन ऋषयो मनुष्या

यज्ञे जाते पितरो नः पुराणे ।

पश्यन्मन्ये मनसा चक्षसा तान्

य इमं यज्ञमयजन्त पूर्वे ॥ ऋग्वेदः १०।१३०।६

अत्र प्राचीने तस्मिन् यज्ञ इत्यर्थो न समीचीनः । सततं तायमानेऽस्मिन्
सृष्टियज्ञे का पुरातनता का वा नतनता ? ‘पुराणरूपे तस्मिन् यज्ञ’ इति

प्रसङ्गप्राप्तोऽर्थः अश्वमेधादयो यथा यज्ञविशेषास्तथैवेदं 'पुराण'मपि यज्ञानां यज्ञो यज्ञविशेषः । अर्थेऽस्मिन्नुपोद्वलकानि कानिचिदुद्धरणान्तराणि—

२५— “मरीचिरञ्जिरसौ पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः ।

वसिष्ठश्च महाभागः सदृशो वै स्वयम्भुवा ।

सप्तब्रह्माण इत्येते पुराणे निश्चयं गताः ।” शान्ति ५० २०८।४

एवमेव विष्णुपुराणे, पठ्यते तत्र

“भृगुं पुलस्त्यं पुलहं क्रतुमङ्गिरसं तथा ।

मरीचिं दक्षमत्रिं च वसिष्ठं चैव मानसान् ॥

नव ब्रह्माण इत्येते पुराणे निश्चयं गताः” ॥ १।७।६

अत्र 'पुराणे' नामके वाङ्मय इत्यर्थो गृह्यते । सप्त नव संख्याभेदश्च कल्पभेदादिति समाधीयत एतेषामैतिह्यसत्तां मत्वा । नैतद्रम्यम् । वस्तुत एते नास्मदादय इव व्यक्तिविशेषाः, पुराणे-सर्गकाले-सर्गारम्भका एते व्यासेन नव समासेन सप्त वा ब्रह्माणो बृंहणकर्तारस्तत्त्वविशेषाः । इदं महाभारतीयेन :—

२६— “मरीचिरङ्गिराश्चात्रिः पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः ।

वसिष्ठश्च महात्मा वै मनुः स्वायम्भुवस्तथा ॥

शान्ति पर्व ३४०।३४

ज्ञेयाः प्रकृतयोऽष्टौ ता यासु लोकाः प्रतिष्ठिताः ।

वेदवेदाङ्गं संयुक्तान् यज्ञान् यज्ञाङ्गसंयुतान् ॥३५॥

निर्ममे लोकसिद्धयर्थं ब्रह्मा लोकपितामहः ।

अष्टाभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्यश्च जातं विश्वमिदं जगत्” ॥३६॥

इत्येतेन विशेषकेन निर्विवादमभिव्यज्यते । एते प्रकृतिभूता मरीच्यादयो वेदसंयुक्ता वेदाङ्गसंयुक्ता यज्ञाङ्गसंयुक्ता यज्ञाश्च सन्ति येषां निमित्तिलोक-सिद्धयर्थमेव ब्रह्मणा विहिता ।

यज्ञस्य सृष्टिमूलत्वं श्रुतावनेकश उक्तमिहाथर्ववेदत उद्धरणमेकं दीयते—

२७— “स यज्ञः प्रथमो भूतो भव्यो अजायत ।

तस्माद्ध जज्ञ इदं सर्वं यत्किञ्चेदं

विरोचते रोहितेण ऋषिणा भूतम्” ॥ १३.१.५५

वेदस्य सृष्टिमूलत्वे निखिलस्य वाङ्मयस्यैव साक्ष्यम् । प्रकृतोपयोगिं ब्राह्मणवाक्यमिह दृश्यताम् :—

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२८—(क) ऋग्भ्यो जातां सर्वंशो मूर्तिमाहुः
सर्वा गतिर्याजुषी हैव शश्वत् ।

सर्वं तेजः सामरूपं हि शश्वत्
सर्वं हीदं ब्रह्मणा हैव सृष्टम् ॥ तैति. ब्रा २।१२, गोपथ ब्रा १।२।६
वैयासिक्यामार्षसंहितायामपि वेदस्येदं स्वरूपम्—

(ख) सद्भूतोत्पादकं नाम तत्स्थानं वेदसंज्ञितम् । शांति प०
विद्यासहायो भगवान् यत्रास्ते हव्यकव्यभुक् ॥३४४।१२
रूपेणोपवर्णितम् ।

भगवत आदित्यस्य वेदमयत्वं श्रुत्यामुक्तम्—

(ग) ऋग्भिः पूर्वाह्णे दिवि देव ईयते,
यजुर्वेदे तिष्ठति मध्ये अह्नः ।

सामवेदेनास्तमयेन हीयते

वेदैरशून्यस्त्रिभिरेति सूर्यः ॥ तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणम् । ३.१२.९.१

शतपथे भगवता याज्ञवल्क्येनापि त्रयीविद्यायाः सूर्यस्य चैकात्म्यमुक्तम् ।
तदानीन्तमे कालेऽविदुषामपि विज्ञानमिदं प्रत्यक्षानुभूतिविषय आसीदित्यपि
प्रतिपादितं भगवता । अनेन विज्ञायते यन्मूलतो वेद एक एव :—

(घ) “यदेतन्मण्डलं तपति, तन्महदुक्थं ता ऋचः स ऋचां लोकः ।
अथ यदेतदचिदीप्यते तन्महाव्रतं तानि सामानि तानि साम्नां
लोकः । अथ य एष एतस्मिन् मण्डले पुरुषः सोऽग्निः, तानि
यजूंषि स यजुषां लोकः ॥ १ ॥

सैषा त्रयेव विद्या तपति । यद्वै तदप्यविद्वांस आहुः “त्रयी
वा एषा विद्या तपतीति ।” (शत. १०.५.२-२)

“यथायं सूर्यो वेदाङ्गैर्वेदैर्वा संयुक्तो वेदरूपस्तथैव मरीच्यादयोऽपि
अश्वमेधपर्वणि पुनरेतेषां विषये :—

१३. (क) ऋचस्ते सकला होता यजूंष्येतानि चान्यतः । ११

• सकलानि च सामानि निपतन्ति त्वदङ्गतः ।

ऋङ्मयस्त्वं जगन्नाथ त्वमेव च यजुर्मयः ॥ १२

यतः साममयश्चैव ततो नाथ त्रयीमयः । मार्कण्डेय पु० ७८ ।

(ख) तिस्रो वाच ईरयति प्रवह्निर्ऋतस्य धीर्ति ब्रह्मणो मनीषाम् ।

गावो यन्ति गोपतिं पृच्छमानाः सोमं यन्ति मतयो वावशानाः ॥

(ऋक् ९।९७।३४)

वह्निरादित्यो भवति, स तिस्रो वाचः प्रेरयति ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि ।
ऋतस्यादित्यस्य कर्माणि ब्रह्मणो मतानि । एष एवैतत्सर्वमक्षरम् । इत्यधि-
दैवतम् इति १४-१४ निरुक्ते भगवान् यास्कः

“एते विश्वसृजो विप्रा जायन्तीह पुनः पुनः ।

तेभ्यः प्रसूतास्तेष्वेव महाभूतेषु पञ्चसु ॥

प्रतीयन्ते यथाकालमूर्मयः सागरे यथा ॥ ५.१२

इति गाथामुखेन तदेवाभिव्यक्तम् । पालनपूरगार्थकात् प्रधातोर्व्युत्पन्नस्य ‘विप्रा’ इति पदस्य विविधरूपेण विशेषेण पालकाः पूरयितारश्चेत्यर्थो न तु प्रचलितो ब्राह्मणापरपर्यायो वर्णविशेषरूपः । अयमपि ब्राह्मणो वेदाध्ययनादधिगतसामर्थ्य एव विप्रपदवाच्यः, वेदाध्ययनाद् भवेद् विप्रः” इति स्मृतिप्रमाणात् ।

एवं प्रकरणेनानेन स्फुटं यन्मरीच्यादय एत ऋषय एव जगतः प्रकृतिः । इम एव वेद-वेदाङ्ग-यज्ञाङ्गसंयुक्ता लोकयज्ञसन्तानका यज्ञपुरुष-प्रभवा यज्ञाः । पुराण एव यज्ञस्यास्य प्रवृत्तिश्च ।

खिल भारते भविष्यपर्वण्येतेऽथर्वरूपेणोक्तास्तथाहि—

(ङ) “दक्षं मरीचिमत्रि च पुलस्त्यं पुलहं क्रतुम् ।

वसिष्ठं गौतमं चैव भृगुमङ्गिरसं मनुम् ॥ १४.२८

अथर्वभूता इत्येते ख्याता ब्रह्मा महर्षयः ।” २९

अस्मिन्नेव पर्वणि ३६ तमेऽध्याये पुनरप्यष्टानामेषां सृष्टिकरत्वमुक्तम्, तथाहि—

ततो मरीचिमत्रिञ्च पुलस्त्यं पुलहं क्रतुम् ।

भृगुमङ्गिरसं चैव मनुं चैव प्रजापतिम् ॥ १५ ॥

पितृश्च सर्वभूतानां देवतासुररक्षसाम्

महर्षीन्सृजच्छम्भुरष्टावेतांश्च मानसान् ॥ १६ ॥

भौष्मपर्वणि सुप्रसिद्धे कृष्णार्जुनसंवादे गोतायां भगवता श्रीकृष्णेनापीदमेव तथ्यं व्यक्तीकृतं यच्च भगवता व्यासेन निम्नोद्धृतपद्येनोपनिबद्धम् :—

(च) महर्षयः सप्त पूर्वे चत्वारो मनवस्तथा ।

मद्भावा मानसा जाता येषां लोक इमाः प्रजाः ॥ १०।६

एतां विभूतिं योगं च मम यो वेत्ति तत्त्वतः । १।२

भगवता शौनकेन बृहद्देवतायामथर्वाणः सप्तर्षयश्चेन्द्रविभूतित्वेन मध्यमस्थाने सूर्यविभूतित्वेन ध्रुवस्थाने चोपवर्णिताः—

(छ) “यश्चैन्द्रो मध्यमस्थानो गणः सोऽयमतः परः १।१२१

द्वन्द्वाश्वयस्तु पर्जन्यो रुद्रो वायुर्बृहस्पतिः । १२२

धाता प्रजापतिश्चैव अथर्वाणश्च ये स्मृताः । १२५

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यः परस्तु गणः सौर्यो द्युस्थानस्तं निबोधत २।७
 पृथिवी च समुद्रश्च देवाः सप्तर्षयश्च ये । ११
 दध्यङ्ग्यर्वा विश्वे च वाजिनो देवपत्नयः । १२。”

अत्र अस्यवामीया—

(ज) “साकञ्जानां सप्तथमाहुरेकजं
 षड्विंशमा ऋषयो देवजा इति ।
 तेषामिष्टानि विहितानि धामशः
 स्थात्रे रेजन्ते विकृताति रूपशः ॥ ऋ. १.१६४.१५

इत्यार्चो श्रुतिः,

(झ) “प्राणा वा ऋषयः । ते यतः पुरास्मात्सर्वस्मादिहमिच्छन्तः
 श्रमेण तपषादिषण तस्माद् ऋषयः । ६१.१.१ स योऽयं मध्ये
 प्राण एष एव इन्द्रः । तानेष प्राणान् मध्यत इन्द्रियेणन्द
 तस्मादिन्धः, इन्धो ह वै तमिन्द्र इत्याचक्षते परोक्षम् ।
 परोक्षकामा हि देवाः त । इद्धाः सप्त नाना पुरुषानसृजन्त । २।

तेऽब्रुवन् न वा इत्थं सन्तः शक्यामः प्रजनयितुम् । इमान्
 सप्तपुरुषानेक पुरुषं करवामेति । स एतान्सप्त पुरुषानेक
 पुरुषमकुर्वन् । यद् ऊर्ध्वं नभेः तौ द्वौ समौब्जन् । यदवाङ्
 नाभेः तौ द्वौ । पक्ष पुरुषः पक्षः पुरुषः प्रतिष्ठैक आसीत् । ३।

इति याज्ञवल्क्यीया अग्निचित्या ब्राह्मण श्रुतिः,

(ञ) “ऋषिभ्यः पितरो जाताः पितृभ्यो देवदानवाः ।
 देवेभ्यश्च जगत्सर्वं चरंस्थाण्वनु पूर्वशः ॥ ३।२०

इति मानवी स्मृतिश्चानुगुणा ।

दृश्यन्तेऽन्यत्रापि पुराणादावेतादृशाः प्रयोगाः—

२९—(क) ‘नव ब्रह्माण इत्येते पुराणे निश्चयं गताः”

ब्रह्माण्ड पू० ५।७१, वायु पु० २।९।६९, लिंग पु० ७७।१८२

एव मेव— भृगवादयस्तु ये ह्येते न च ते ब्रह्मवादिनः ।

गृहमेवि पुराणास्ते विज्ञेया ब्रह्माणः सुताः ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड ५५।७८

महाभारते बहुशः सृष्टिमूलतत्त्वोपदेशविषयकः प्रसंगः ‘पुराण’ नाम्ना
 प्रस्तुतीकृतः । ययाः—

(ग) “अपि हि पुराणे भवति—एकयोत्यात्मकावगतीषोमौ
 देवाश्चाग्निमुखा इति एकयोनित्वाच्च परस्परमर्हन्तो लोकान-
 धारयन्त’ इति” (शा० प० ३४१.५१)

नात्र काचन तादृशी कथा या पौराणिकत्वेन प्रसिद्धा लोकप्रथिता ।
विशुद्धो विज्ञानमूलस्सृष्टिविषयो निगद्यते 'पुराणे' इत्यधिकरणेन ।

(घ) "हन्ते ते वर्तयिष्यामि पुराणं पाण्डुनन्दन ।

आत्मतेजोद्भवं पार्थ शृणुष्वेकमना मम" । (शा०प० (३४२)२०

पुराण-पदस्य विशेषणं 'आत्मतेजोद्भवमि'ति विचारणीयम् । नात्र
'मम बुद्धिसमुद्भूतं' 'मदुपज्ञोद्भवं पार्थ' इति वा प्रोक्तं भगवता कृष्णेन,
न च कृष्णप्राक्तस्य कस्यचित्पुराणस्य सङ्केत एव वाङ्मये । अत्रैव पूर्वोद-
घृताथर्वणो :—

(ङ) "यत्र स्कम्भः प्रजनयन पुराणं व्यवर्तयत ।

एकं तदंगं स्कम्भस्य पुराणमनुसंविदुः" ॥

इतीयं श्रुतिरप्यक्षरशस्तुलनीया । वायुपुराणीयम्—

(च) "यः पुराणे पुराणो मा वाराहं वपुरास्थितः ।

ददौ जित्वा वसुमतीं सुराणां सुरसत्तमः ॥ ९७.१६
इति पद्यमपीदमेव तथ्यं प्रकटाकरोति । अत्र 'पुराणो' पुराणाख्ये वाङ्मये
इत्यर्थो न कथमपि सङ्गच्छते । यः सर्गकाले सर्गात्मा वाराहं रूपमास्थित
इत्येव वास्तविकी योजना । मात्स्येऽपि :—

(छ) "पौराणं रूपमास्थाय स्वपितृमरविक्रमः ।

एकार्णव-जल-व्यापी योगी योगमुपाश्रितः" ॥ ११५।२०

इति पठ्यते । नात्र पुरातनं रूपम् न च पुराणवाङ्मयप्रतिपादितं वा रूप-
मित्यर्थोऽपि तु सृष्टिरचनानुकूलं सञ्जातक्षोभप्रकृतिकं रूपमित्येवार्थः ।
अत्रत्यो 'योगः' न भिद्यते गीतोक्ताद् (२८ च) योगात् ।

(ज) नारसिंहीं तनुं त्यक्त्वा स्थापयित्वा च तद्वपुः ।

पौराणं रूपमास्थाय ययौ स गरुडध्वजः ॥

भविः पु० ४७।३६

यः पुराणे पुराणात्मा भूत्वा नारायणः प्रभुः ।

पद्मनाभो महाबाहुर्लोकानां प्रकृतिध्रुवः ॥ ४०।५

इति हरिवंशपुराणेऽपि वायाविव प्रवचनम् ।

३०—(क) प्रभवे चापरार्धस्य परार्धप्रभवे नमः ।

नमः पुराणप्रभवे सर्गाणां प्रभवे नमः ॥ २१.१४

इति शिवसहस्रनामसु लिङ्गपुराणम्—

(ख) प्रभवे च परार्धस्य परस्य प्रभवे नमः ।

नमः पुराणप्रभवे युगस्य प्रभवे नमः ॥ २४.१०१

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इति वायुपुराणं च युगादि समाख्यासु पुराणपदं गणयदस्य सृष्टि रूपं सृष्टि-
प्रवर्तन-कालरूपं चार्थं प्रकटयतः ।

यथा सर्गः सर्गरचना सर्गकालो वा पुराणम् तथैव 'सर्गकर्ता'पि
पुराणम् यश्च ब्रह्मा परब्रह्मा महद्भूतेति विविधनामजातेन प्रथिततमः ।
भगवान् बृहस्पतिः प्रजापतिं भगवन्तं मनुं पृच्छति :—

३१—(क) मही महीजाः पवनोऽन्तरिक्षं,
जलौकसश्चैव जलं दिवञ्च ।
दिवौकसश्चापि यतः प्रसूताः
तदुच्यतां मे भगवन् 'पुराणम्' शा० प० २०१.६.

मह्यादीनां यस्मात् प्रवृत्तिः—प्रसूतिस्तत्—प्रसूतिमूलं—पुराणं—
मह्यमुच्यतामिति मनुं प्रति बृहस्पतेः प्रार्थना । पुनरप्युक्तं वाचस्पतिना—

(ख) ज्ञानं यतः प्रार्थयते नरो वै
ततस्तदर्थं भवति प्रवृत्तिः ।
न चाप्यहं वेद परं पुराणं
मिथ्याप्रवृत्तिं च कथं नु कुर्याम् ॥७॥

ज्ञानमूला हि प्रवृत्तिर्नृणाम् । अहं च परं पुराणं—सर्वोत्तमां भूत-
प्रकृति—सृष्टिकर्तारमिति यावत्—न वेद्मीति तत्र परमात्मनि कथं
मिथ्या—अज्ञानमूलामतएव वृथा—प्रवृत्तिं कुर्यामिति देवगुरोर्हृदयमेवं
परमात्मनः कृते प्रयुक्तं पुराणपदमत्रेति स्पष्टमेव । न पुरातनार्थवाचकं
विशेषणमिदं विशेष्याभावात्, ब्रह्मेति नपुंसक पदमिवेदमपि महतो भूतस्य
वाचकं संज्ञा नपुंसकलिङ्गतया ।

ब्रह्मसूत्र-शारीरकभाष्य-आकाशाधिकरणे भगवता शंकराचार्ये-
णोक्तम् :—

(ग) "तथा चाकाशपर्यायवाचिनामपि ब्रह्मणि प्रयोगो दृश्यते,
'ऋचोऽक्षरे परमे व्योमन् यस्मिन् देवा अधि विश्वे निषेदुः'
(१.१६४.३९ कृ०) 'सैषा भार्गवी वारुणी विद्या परमे व्योमन्
प्रतिष्ठिता' (तैत्ति० उप० ३.६) 'ओम् कं ब्रह्म खं ब्रह्म'
(छान्दोग्य प० ४.१०.५) 'खं पुराणम्' (बृहदारण्यकोप०
५.१०) इति चैवमादौ" इति ।

अत्र आनन्दगिरिः "कं मुखं तस्येन्द्रिययोगजत्वं वारयितुं 'खम्'
इति । तस्य भूताकाशत्वं व्यासेद्धुं 'पुराणम्' इति व्याख्यामुखेन खपदस्य
परब्रह्मार्थकतायां 'पुराणं' निश्चायकत्वेनोद्धृतं मन्यते ।

बृहदारण्यकेऽन्यत्रापि पुराणस्यास्मिन्नर्थे प्रयोगो दृश्यते, तथाहि—
 प्राणस्य प्राणमुतश्चक्षुषश्चक्षुरुत—
 श्रोत्रस्य श्रोत्रमन्नस्यान्नं ये मनो विदुः ।
 ते निचिक्युर्ब्रह्म पुराणमग्रं
 मनसावाप्तव्यं नेह नानास्ति किञ्चन ॥४.२.२१

एवं स्पष्टीभवति पुराणपदस्य परमात्मनि चिररूढिः ।

संहितादिष्वपि पुराणपदस्यैतस्मिन्नर्थे पुष्कलो व्यवहारो दृश्यते यथा—

(घ) “अतः परं नान्यदणीयसं हि
 परात्परं यन्महतो महान्तम् ।
 यदेकमव्यक्तमनन्तरूपं
 विश्वं पुराणं तमसः पुरस्तात्
 तं दुर्दशं गूढमनुप्रविष्टं
 गुहाहितं गह्वरेष्ठं पुराणम् । (कठोप. १.२.१२)

(ङ) “वह्निः संवर्तको भूत्वा पिबँस्तोयमयं हविः ।
 अहं पुराणं परमं तथैवाहं परायणम् ।
 (मत्स्य पु० १६६.५९, हरिवंशपु० ३.१०, ६०-९१.)

(च) प्रभुं पुराणं पुरुषं पुरस्तात्
 सनातनं योगिनमीशितारम्
 अणोरणीयांसमनन्तशक्तिं
 प्राणेश्वरं शम्भुमसौ ददर्श ॥ कूर्म पु० २५।५२

(घ) विशुद्धविज्ञानघनं पुराणं
 सनातनं विश्वसृजां पतिं गुरुम् ।
 अनेकमेकं जगदेकनाथं
 नमाम्यनन्ताश्रितशुद्धबुद्धिम् ॥ पद्म पु० वदरी० २।३३

(ज) “बलवाँश्चोपशान्तश्च पुराणः पुण्यचञ्चुरी”
 इति शिवसहस्रनामसु महाभारतम् । गरुडपुराणे तु स्पष्टः
 रूपेणैकैकनामगणनापूर्वकं ‘पुराणं’ नाम् पठितम् तथाहि—

(झ) “ब्रह्माणमाहुश्च पुराणमाहुः
 क शब्द वाच्यं सर्वलोकेशमाहुः ।
 ईशं चाहं रुद्रमित्येव चाह—
 स्तत्प्रेरकं सृष्टिसंहारकार्यं ॥” ब्रह्म कां० २४।५१

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(अ) “स विश्वकायः पुरुहूत ईशः

सत्यः स्वयञ्ज्योतिरजः पुराणः ।

तां विद्ययोदस्य निरीह आस्ते ॥” भाग० पु० ८।१।१३

कियदिवोद्ध्रियेत । कृत्स्न एव वाङ्मयः पुराणपदेन स्तोति भगवन्त-
मर्थविशेषे । वयञ्चैकमात्रपुरातनरूपार्थवर्तविभ्रान्ता न पारयामोऽस्य
प्रासङ्गिकार्थान्तराणि वेत्तुम् । अत एव वेदं सनातनं मन्यमानाः श्रीकृष्ण-
द्वैपायनं भगवदवतारत्वेन वेदव्यासत्वेन षित्वेन चाद्रियमाणा अपि वयम्—

“स महेन्द्रः स्तूयते वै महाध्वरे,

विप्रैरेक ऋक्सहस्रैः पुराणैः ।” अनुशा० १५८।२८

इत्येतादृशेषु ‘पुरातनैर्ऋक्सहस्रैः’ अर्थं कुर्वाणा ऋचां पौर्वापर्यं
भङ्ग्यन्तरेणोरसी कुर्वन्तः कियन्तमनर्थं कुर्म इति विचारणीयं दोषज्ञ-
निवहेन ।

पुराणपदनिरुक्तिरपि साधु व्यनक्ति पुराणस्वरूपम्

३२—(क) पुरा सृष्टेः प्रागन्तर्लीनसृष्टिः सृष्टिकामोऽनितीति पुराणं
सृष्टिकर्तेश्वरः ।

(अ) ‘हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे भूतस्य जातः पतिरेक आसीत्’ इति
(ऋक् १०.१२१.१)

(आ) “नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं

नासीद्रजो नो व्योमा परो यत्

किमावरीवः कुह कस्य शर्म

न्नम्भः किमासीद् गहनं गभीरम् (ऋ. १०.१२९.१)

न रात्र्या अह्ना आसीत् प्रकेतः

आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकं

तस्माद्धान्यन्न परः किञ्चनासः । २

इति नासदीया श्रुतिः, एतदर्थानुवादपरा

(इ) नाहो न रात्रिर्न नभो न भूमिः

नासीत्तमोज्योतिरभूच्च नान्यत् ।

श्रोत्रादिवुद्धचानुपलभ्यमेकं

प्राधानिकं ब्रह्म पुमांस्तदासीत् ॥ १.२.२३

इति विष्णुपुराणीया पाराशरी स्मृतिः

(ई) ‘स वै किलायं पुरुषः पुरातनो

य एक आसीदविशेष आत्मनि ।

अग्रे गुणैभ्यो जगदात्मनीश्वरे

निमीलितात्मनिशि सुप्तशक्तिषु ॥ १.१०.२१

इति भागवतीया स्मृतिश्चानुकूला

(ख) वैदिके लौकिके च वाङ्मये शरीरं (व्यष्टेः समष्टेर्महासमष्टे-
र्वा) पुरशब्देनोच्यते । यथा—

(अ) 'यो वै तां ब्राह्मणो वेदामृतेनावृतां पुरम् ।

तस्मै ब्रह्म च ब्राह्मणश्च चक्षुः प्राणं प्रजां ददुः ।

अथर्व ० १०.१.२९

(आ) 'अष्टचक्रा नवद्वारा देवानां पूरयोध्या ।

तस्यां हिरण्यः कोषः स्वर्गो ज्योतिषावृतः ॥ ३९

(इ) प्रभ्राजमानां हरिणीं यशसां सम्परिवृताम् ।

पुर हिरण्यमयीं ब्रह्माविवेशापराजिताम् ॥ ३३

इत्याथर्वणमन्त्रग्रामे

(ई) 'पुरमेकादशद्वारमजस्यावक्रचेतसः ।

अनुष्ठाय न शोचति विमुक्तश्चाविमुच्यते ॥ कठोप० २।२।१

(उ) 'पुरश्चक्रे द्विपदः पुरश्चक्रे चतुष्पदः ।

पुरः स पक्षी भूत्वा पुरः पुरुष आविशत् ॥' बृहदा० २।५।१४

(ऊ) 'अथ यदिदमस्मिन् ब्रह्मपुरे दहरं पुण्डरीकं वेद्य'

छन्दोग्य ८।१।१

इत्युपनिषत्सु

(ऋ) 'भूतैर्महद्भिर् य इमा पुरोविभु-

निर्माय शेते यदभूषु पुरुषः' भागवतम् ३।११।२३

(ऌ) सृष्ट्वा पुराणि विविधान्यजयात्मशक्त्या—

वृक्षान् सरीसृपपशून् खगदंशमत्स्यान् ॥ १.१.२.२४

(ॡ) 'शरीरं पुरमित्याहुः' शान्ति प. २५४.९

इत्यादि पुराणेतिहासेषु शरीरार्थे पुरपदं प्रसिद्धम् । ततः सर्वेषु
पुरेषु अनिति, सर्वाणि पुराणि वा योजयति स पुराण इति सुव्यक्तम् ।^{१४}

१४. (क) पुरि शेते इति पुरिषयः पुरुषः (निरुक्तम्, १.३१.१) पुरुषः
पुरिषादः पुरिषयः पूरयतेर्वा, (नि० २.३१ अत्रत्या दुर्गवृत्तिश्च)
पूरयति स्वेन तेजसा भुवनत्रयमिति पुरुषः, तथा च मन्त्रः—आ प्रा
द्यावा पृथिवी अन्तरिक्षम् (वाजश्रुतिः ७।४२)

(ख) आपूरयति यस्माच्च सर्वान् देहाननुग्रहैः ।

बुध्यते पुरुषश्चात्र सर्वान् भावान् पृथक् पृथक् ॥ ब्रह्मांड पु० पू० १२।

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पुरुष एव पुरुषिनोति स्यति वेति पुरुष एव सर्वमेधे महामखे स्वाहुति^{१५}
प्रदाय 'ब्रह्म' परिवृंहणकर्मा भवति, अतः पुराणपुरुष इति प्रयोगः
सङ्गच्छते पुराणे पुरुषं प्रोक्तमिति साहचर्यं घटते च ।

पुरुष एव प्रधानमनिरुद्धश्च, स एव परब्रह्मणः प्रथमं रूपम् ।
प्राथम्येन प्रकर्षेण प्राधान्येन च दद्याति, धीयते, तत् अनेनास्मिन्निति वा
प्रधानमिति कर्तृभावकर्मकरणाधिकरणव्युत्पत्तयस्तत्स्वरूपं बोधयितुं
यथाकथञ्चिदलम् । अनितोति अनि, सर्वमनिजातं रुणद्धि आवृणोतीति
अनिरुद्धोऽपि स एव चतुर्व्यूहराद्धान्ते । अत्र —

(ग) पुरं प्रधानमित्युक्तं प्रपञ्चानेकसङ्कुलम् ।

तत् पुरा पोषयेद्यस्मात् तस्माद् वै पुरुषः स्मृतः ॥

(स्वच्छन्दतन्त्रम् १०।१०१)

(घ) पुरमोषति कर्मान्ते पुरुभिः सेव्यते सदा ।

पुरि शेते पुरं सौति सत्त्वे पुरुणि सीदति ॥ अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता ५३।६२

पुरु प्रकृतिपुरुषौ पुरुषः सृजतीति यत् । ५९.३१

पुरा सीदति कर्माणि कारयन् प्राणिनोऽखिलम् ।

फलानि पुरुषेभ्यश्च सनोति क्रिययाचितः ॥ ३२

पुरिसन्स पुरीवायं पुरामूर्ध्वमुदैत् परात् । ३३

इत्याद्या भिन्न-भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तेन शतशो व्युत्पत्तयः पुरुषपदस्याकर-
ग्रन्थेषु, पुराणपदार्थे सर्वासामासामुपयोगः ।

१५. तं यज्ञं बर्हिषि प्रीक्षन् पुरुषं जातमग्रतः ।

तेन देवा अयजन्त साध्या ऋषयश्च ये ॥ यजु० ३१.९

यत्पुरुषेण हविषा देवा यज्ञमतन्वत ।

वसन्तोऽस्यासीदाज्यं ग्रीष्म इध्मः शरद्धविः ॥ १४

सप्तास्यासन् परिधयः त्रिसप्त समिधः कृताः ।

देवा यद्यज्ञं तन्वाना अबध्नन् पुरुषं पशुम् ॥ १५ इति श्रुतिः

(ख) ब्रह्म वै स्वयम्भु तपोऽस्तप्यत । तदैक्षत न वै तपस्यानन्त्यमस्ति ।

हन्ताहं भूनेष्वात्मानं जुह्वानि भूतानि चात्मनि इति । तत्सर्वेषु

भूतेषु चात्मानं हुत्वा सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि सर्वेषां भूतानां श्रेष्ठ्यं

स्वाराज्यमाधिपत्यं पर्येत् । (शतपथ० १३.४.३.१) इति ब्रा०श्रुतिः

(ग) विश्वरूपो महादेवः सर्वमेधे महामखे ।

जुहाव सर्वभूतानि तथैवात्मानमात्मना ॥ शान्ति पर्व ८।३६

महादेवः सर्वयज्ञे महात्मा हुत्वात्मानं देवदेवो बभूव ।

विश्वाँल्लोकान् व्याप्य विष्टभ्य कीर्त्या विराजते द्युतिमान् कृत्तिवासाः ॥

२०।१२

सञ्जुहावात्मानात्मानं स्वयमेव तदा प्रभो !

यज्ञं च शोभयामास बहुरूपं पिनाकधृक् ॥ अनुशा० पर्व ८।५।५३

इति भारतीया श्रुतिश्चात्र द्रष्टव्या ।

(क) “तम एवाभवत्सर्वं न प्राज्ञायत किञ्चन ॥१६॥

तमसो ब्रह्म सम्भूतं तमोमूलामृतात्मकम् ।

तद् विश्वभावसंज्ञान्तं पौरुषीं तनुमाश्रितम् ॥१७॥

सोऽनिरुद्ध इति प्रोक्तस्तत् प्रधानं प्रचक्षते ।

तदव्यक्तमिति ज्ञेयं त्रिगुणं नृपसत्तम” ॥१८॥

शां० प० ३४७।

(ख) तदेतत् सर्वमेवैतद् व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपवत् ।

तथा पुरुषरूपेण कालरूपेण च स्थितम् ॥

परस्य ब्रह्मणो रूपं पुरुषः प्रथमो द्विज ।

व्यक्ताव्यक्ते तथैवान्ये रूपे कालस्तथापरम् ॥

(क्रिफेल सम्पा० पुराणपंचलक्ष० पृ० ६)

इति पुराणानुश्रुतिः प्रमाणम् ।

(ग) पुरा परम्परां प्रति नयति, पुरा परम्परामणति वदतीति वा पुराणं पुराख्यानो वाङ्मयः । पुरानवं-प्राचीनं सदपि स्वभावतो मनोरम-शैलीतो वा सदा नवमिवाभाति तद्रूपेण नूयते स्तूयते तदपि पुराणम् ।

एवं पुराणे सर्वेऽप्येतेऽर्थाश्चरितार्था जायन्ते । अत एव छान्दोग्ये ‘पुराणं वेदानां वेद’ प्रोक्तम् । तदनवबुद्ध्यैव केचन वेदानां वेदं व्याकरणं मन्यन्ते यच्च वेदाङ्गत्वेनापामरं प्रसिद्धम् । केचन पुराणकृतेऽर्थवादप्रयोगमिदं मन्यन्ते । एवं विघेषु स्थलेषु केचन साहसैकरसिकाः प्रक्षेपमपि साधयन्ति । “आत्मा पुराणं वेदानाम्” “पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम्” (मत्स्य ३।३३) इति पुराणस्तवनपरार्णि वचांसि पुराणवेदस्यैव महिम-शंसीनीति प्रज्ञावाद्भिरवधार्यम् ।

३४— “को अद्धा वेद क इह प्रवोचत्

कुत आजाता कुत इयं विमृष्टिः ।

इति सम्प्रश्नानामुत्तरं पुराण एव, तत्पुराणमेव च सम्प्रश्न इति

यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता

धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा ।

यो देवानां नामधा एक एव

तं सम्प्रश्नं भुवना यन्त्यन्या ।

ऋग्वेद १०।८२।३

इति श्रुतिवचनेन

देवासुरनृणां सर्गो नागानां मृगपक्षिणाम् ।

सामासिकस्त्वया प्रोक्तो यस्तु स्वायम्भुवेऽन्तरे ॥१॥

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तस्यैव व्यासमिच्छामि ज्ञातुं ते भगवन् यथा ।
 अनुसर्गं यथा शक्त्या ससर्जं भगवान् परः ॥२॥
 इति सम्प्रश्नमाकर्ण्य राजर्षेर्वादिरायणिः ॥३॥

भागवतम् ६।४

इति स्मृतिवचनेन चेदं स्पष्टम् ।

सर्वं ज्ञात्वापि यावदिदं न जानाति तावन्न किमपि वित्तमिति
 बृहस्पतिना व्यक्तं तथ्यं भगवता व्यासेन—

ऋक्सामसङ्घांश्च यजूंषि चापि
 छन्दांसि नक्षत्रगतिं निरुक्तम् ।
 अधीत्य च व्याकरणं सकल्पं
 शिक्षां च भूतप्रकृतिं न वेद्मि ॥

शां० प० २०१.८

इति श्लोकमानेनोपनिबद्धम् ।

३५—अस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे इदमप्यवधेयं यद् व्यासप्रोक्ता पुराणसंहिता न
 भगवतो व्यासस्य तादृशी कृतिर्यादृशी भारतसंहिता । वेदेषु पुराणविषयका-
 मन्त्रास्तत्तत्स्थानेभ्यः समाहृत्य समाहृत्य संहिता—परः सन्निकर्ष—रूप-
 मापादिताः प्रवचनविषयीकृताः । सैव पुराणसंहितेति पुराणानां महा-
 भारतस्य वेदशाखाविस्तारप्रसङ्गेन स्पष्टम् । पुराणसंहितां पाठितेषु
 व्यासशिष्यप्रशिष्येषु सर्वैराख्यं तत्प्रचारपरायणेषु कैश्चित्तदाधारेण विषय-
 विशेषप्रकाशयित्री^{१६} स्वस्वसंहिता विरचिता, सा पुराणम् । पुराणवेदस्य
 व्याख्यानानीदृशानि पुराणानि श्रीकृष्णद्वैपायनात् पूर्वमपि प्रचलिता-

१६. (क) पुराणसंहिताश्चक्रुर्बहुलाः परमर्षयः ।

वेदानां प्रविभागश्च कृतस्तैस्तु सहस्रशः ॥ मार्क० पुरा० ४५.२१

(ख) प्रख्यातो व्यासशिष्योऽभूत् सुतो वै रोमर्षणः ।

पुराणसंहितां तस्मै ददौ व्यासो महामतिः ॥ विष्णु० पु. ३।६।१६

सुमतिश्चाग्निवर्चाश्च मित्रयुः शांशपायनः ।

अकृतव्रणसावर्णी षट्शिष्यास्तस्य चाभवन् ॥ १७

काश्यपः संहिताकर्ता सावर्णिश्शांशपायनः ।

रोमहर्षणिकाश्चान्या तिसृणां मूलसंहिताः ॥ १८

चतुष्टयेनाभेदेन संहितानामिदं मुने । १९

तथा चोपपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि च । २५

इति शाखाः समाख्याताश्शाखाभेदास्तथैव च ॥

कर्तारिश्चैव शाखानां भेदहेतुस्तथोदितः ॥ ३१॥

सर्वपुराणेषु प्रायस्समानोऽयं विषयः ।

न्यासन्।^{१७} परं तत्प्रचारव्रतविशेषमवलम्ब्य केन्द्रविन्दुतः परिधिर्विस्तार इव लोकेषु तेषां बहुलीकरणं भगवतो व्यासस्य तच्छिष्य-प्रशिष्याणाञ्च व्यासस्येव महत्कार्यम् । अतो व्यासो व्यासः ।

आदावितिहासः पुराणञ्चापृथगास्तां ततः पृथगभवताम्, अत एवेतिहासपुराणेषु न काचन विभेदिका स्पष्टरेखा । शनैः शनैः पुराणस्य विकासो जातः, वेदाधिकारवञ्चितायै जनतायै विशेषतः स्त्रीशूद्राभ्यां पुराणम्, इत्येतादृशाः प्रवादाः सर्वथा निर्मूला एवेति विवेचनेनानेन सुस्पष्टं भवति ।

वेदार्थस्येयत्तया नियमनं वेदार्थविनाश, इत्यनेकार्थजुषां मन्त्राणामेकार्थाभिधायकपुराणादिसंहितारूपेण संग्रहो नेष्टो महर्षीणामिति न पुराणसंहितोपलभ्यते ऋक्संहितादिवद् भारतसंहितादिवद्वा ।

१७. यस्मिन्मन्वन्तरे व्यासा ये ये स्युस्तन्निबोध मे ।

यथा च भेदाश्शाखानां व्यासेन क्रियते मुने । विष्णु पु० ३.३.८

अष्टाविंशतिं कृत्वो वै वेदो व्यस्तो महर्षिभिः ।

वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे तस्मिन् द्वापरेषु पुनः पुनः ॥ ९ ।

द्वापरे प्रथमे व्यस्तः स्वयं वेदः स्वयम्भुवा ।^१

द्वितये द्वापरे चैव वेदव्यासः प्रजापतिः^२ ॥११॥

तृतीये चोशना^३ व्यासश्चतुर्थे च बृहस्पतिः^४ ।

सविता^५ पञ्चमे व्यासः षष्ठे सृष्ट्युः^६ स्मृतः प्रभुः ॥१२॥

सप्तमे च तथैवेन्द्रः^७ वसिष्ठश्चाष्टमे स्मृतः ।

सारस्वत^८श्च नवमे त्रिषामा^९ दशमे स्मृतः ॥१३॥

एकादशे तु त्रिशिखो^{१०} भरद्वाज^{११}स्ततः परः ।

त्रयोदशे चात्तरिक्षो^{१३} वर्णो चापि चतुर्दशे ॥१४॥

त्रय्यारुणः^{१५} पञ्चदशे षोडशे तु धनञ्जयः^{१६} ।

ऋतुञ्जयः^{१७} सप्तदशे तदूर्ध्वं च जयः^{१८} स्मृतः ॥१५॥

ततो व्यासो भरद्वाजो^{१९} भरद्वाजाच्च गौतमः^{२०} ।

गौतमादुत्तरो व्यासो ह्यर्ह्यत्मा^{२१} योऽभिधीयते ॥१६॥

अथ ह्यर्ह्यत्मानोऽन्ते च स्मृतो वाजश्रवा^{२२} मुनिः ।

सोमशुष्मायणस्तस्मात् तुणविन्दु^{२३} रिति स्मृतः ॥१७॥

^{२४} ऋक्षोऽभूद् भार्गवस्तस्माद् वाल्मीकि र्योऽभिधीये ।

तस्मादस्मत् पिता शक्तिः^{२५} व्यासस्तस्मादहं^{२६} मुने ॥

^{२७} जातुकर्णोऽभवन्मत्तः कृष्णद्वैपायन^{२८}स्ततः ।

अष्टाविंशतिरित्येते वेदव्यासाः पुरातनाः ॥ १९

अत्राहम् पराशर इति सर्वेषु पुराणेषु महाभारतादावितिहासे चायमेव क्रमः ।

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पुराणं वेदः

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यथा यथा साङ्गवेदस्य पुराणब्राह्मणादिप्रकाशेऽध्ययनस्य ह्यासो-
 ऽजायत, केवलं पुराणानां कथायाः श्रवणं श्रावणं धर्मपालनं सामान्याधीतीनां
 व्यासब्राह्मणानामाजीविकासाधनमात्रञ्चाभवत् तदा शनैः शनैः पुराण-
 वाङ्मये विकृतिः प्रादुर्भूता । इमां विकृतिमपसार्य पुराणेषु सुरक्षितां प्राज्यां
 सामग्रीमुपयुज्य पुराणवेदस्य वास्तविकमर्थमवगन्तुं बद्धपरिकरैर्भाव्यं
 वेदाध्ययनव्रतं विद्वद्भिः । पुराणवाङ्मयोद्धारं विना वेदार्थो गगनकुसुममेव ।
 पुराणवेदं विना तट्टीकाभूतानां पुराणानामध्ययनं व्यर्थम् ।

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदार्थमुपबृंहयेत् ।

विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥

इति वैयासकी भारती सदैव स्मरणीयावलम्बनीया च वेदपुराण-
 जिज्ञासुभिरिति शम् ।

A PRELIMINARY ESSAY IN SYSTEMATIC ARRANGEMENT OF THE PURĀṆAS—WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LEGEND OF YAMA'S BIRTH*

By

Y. MATSUNAMI

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे पुराणानां मूलपाठानुसंधानविषये विमर्शः कृतः । एतत्प्रसङ्गे पुराणेषु वर्णितस्य यमोत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गस्यापि विवेचनं कृतम् । पुराणेषूपलब्धं यमोत्पत्तिवर्णनं वर्गत्रयेषु विभक्तम् । तत्र प्रथम-वर्गे यानि वर्णनानि सन्ति तेषां पुनः विवेचनं विधाय परस्परोपजीव्यता प्रदर्शिता वर्तते । विवेचनस्य परिणामो निबन्धस्यान्ते सारण्यां प्रदर्शितो वर्तते । संक्षेपेणास्मिन् निबन्धे पौराणिकवर्णनानि कथं परस्परं संबद्धानि असंबद्धानि वेति प्रदर्श्य कथं तेषां मूलं रूपं प्राप्यते इति विवेचितम् ।]

I Introduction

The series of works called Purāṇa-s is generally divided into two groups, viz. Mahāpurāṇa-s (or Great Purāṇa-s) and Upapurāṇa-s (or supplementary Purāṇa-s).¹ While the Upapurāṇa-s consist of 18 parts, the names of which sometimes vary according to the book describing them², the Mahāpurāṇa-s instead have fixed number of

* Translated from Japanese by Akiko Matsumoto. To understand better this "Essay" the reader is advised to keep in mind W. Kirfel's Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa. (editor)

1. The classification of what we call Purāṇic literature into Mahā-purāṇa-s and Upa-Purāṇa-s is found in comparatively recent Purāṇa-s, for example: Bhāgavata-purāṇa XII, 7, 10-22; Brahṃavaivarta-purāṇa IV, 131, 7-10. Cfr. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, The University of Dacca, 1936, p. 2, note 19; R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇa-s*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1958, p. 2 note 2. The group of works belonging to the Upa-purāṇa-s is generally considered more recent than the Mahā-purāṇa-s as Amarakośa describes the Purāṇa-s but does not mention the Upa-purāṇa-s. Cfr. R. C. Harza, *Studies in the Upa-purāṇa-s*, Vol. I, p. 23. Refer to note (4).

2. Cfr. R. C. Hazra, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-14.

parts and fixed titles.³ These 18 Mahāpurāṇa-s give us some hints of the existence of one or several original Purāṇa s, which contributed to the contents they have in common. This hypothesis is based on the fact that Amarakośa points out pañcalakṣaṇa⁴ as a synonym of Purāṇa, and that other similar definitions are found in many other works. We can say that the comparative study of the

3. 'Mahā-purāṇa-s' generally means the following 18 works
Brahma—, Padma—, Viṣṇu—, Vāyu—, (or Śiva—)
Bhāgavata—, Bṛhan-nāradiya—, Mārkaṇḍeya—, Agni—,
Bhaviṣya(t)—, Brahmavaivarta—, Liṅga—, Varāha—,
Skanda—, Vāmana—, Kūrma—, Matsya—, Garuḍa—,
Brahmāṇḍa—.
4. 'Purāṇam pañcalakṣaṇam' (Amarakośa I. 6. 5) Cf. *Amarakośa with the Commentary of Maheśvara. Edited with an Index by Cintamani Shastri Thatte, under the Superintendence of Dr. F. Kielhorn, Bombay, 1877, p. 35.* This description merely picks up 'pañcalakṣaṇa' as synonym of 'purāṇa' but as far as Amarakośa is concerned it is not clear what 'pañcalakṣaṇa' means. Therefore we should rely upon description given by the Purāṇa-s themselves.

sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca.

vaṁśānucaritam caiva purāṇam pañcalakṣaṇam

Brahmāṇḍa-p. I. 1. 37-38; Vāyu-p. IV. 10-11; Matsya-p. LIII. 65; etc. Cfr. Viṣṇu-p. IV. 8. 13. We cannot say that the content of the present Mahāpurāṇa-s tally with pañcalakṣaṇa absolutely; for example the Viṣṇu-p. itself which has the simplest form in this regard, and made F. E. Pargiter say that it is a new Purāṇa produced by consistent interprise, involves also geographical and astronomical contents in Amśa II and legal elements in Amśa III. Moreover, at the end it gives the following brief description of its content :

sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca

vaṁśānucaritam kṛtsnam mayātra tava kīrtitam //13

atra devās tathā daityā gandharvoragarākṣasāḥ

yakṣā vidyādharāḥ siddhāḥ kathyantepsarasas tathā//14

munayo bhāvitātmanāḥ kathyante tapasānvitāḥ

cāturvarṇyam tathā pumsām viśiṣṭacaritā narāḥ //15

puṇyāḥ pradeśā medinyāḥ puṇyā nadyo'tha sāgarāḥ

parvatās ca mahāpuṇyāś caritāṇi ca dhīmatām//16

varṇadharmādayo dharmā vedaśākhāś ca kṛtsnāśāḥ

yeṣām samśravaṇāt sadyaḥ sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate //17

(Viṣṇu-p. VI. 8. 13-17)

Purāṇic texts done by F. E. Pargiter and Willibald Kirfel⁵, who worked in this direction, has contributed a lot to make clear that the whole Purāṇic system derives from one original Purāṇa.

The Purāṇa-s themselves are not unconcerned with systematizing the Mahāpurāṇa-s. In the Padma P., the 18 Mahāpurāṇa-s are divided into the following three groups, each one of 6 Purāṇa-s, viz., Viṣṇu P., Varāha P., Bhāgavata P., Garuḍa P., Padma P., Br̥han-nāradiya P. form the group called 'Sāttvika Purāṇa-s'; Matsya P., Kūrma P., Liṅga P., Vāyu P., Skanda P., Agni P., constitute the 'Tāmasa Purāṇa-s'; the 'Rājasa Purāṇa-s' are Brahma P., Brahma Vaivarta P., Mārkaṇḍeya P., Vāmana P., Bhaviṣya(t) P.⁶. However, according to the comparative study of the texts done by F.E. Pargiter and Willibald Kirfel, and the most reliable study of R.C. Hazra, Kūrma Purāṇa I.2,36-75 and I.3 belong to the Pāñcarātra, which is one of the Vaiṣṇava sects and differ from the remaining topics of the Purāṇa-s characterized with a strand of Pāśupata colour, so that they presume that the Pāśupata-s which is one of the Śaiva sects, modified the text which originally belonged to the Pāñcarātra sect and gave form to the present

5. F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, with Introduction and Notes*, Humphrey Milford, 1918; Reprint The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1962

Willibald Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, Versuch einer Textgeschichte*, Bonn, 1927.

Willibald Kirfel, *Bhāratavarṣa (Indien), Textgeschichtliche Darstellung zweier geographischen Purāṇa Texte nebst Uebersetzung*, Stuttgart, 1931.

Willibald Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa vom Weltgebäude (Bhuvana-viṇyāsa), Die kosmographischen Traktate der Purāṇas, Versuch einer Textgeschichte*, Bonn, 1954.

6. see Padma-purāṇa, Uttara-khaṇḍa, 263. 81-84
mātsyaṁ kaurmaṁ tathā laiṅgaṁ śaivaṁ skāndaṁ
tathaiva ca //81

āgneyaṁ ca ṣaḍ etāni tāmasāni nibodha me
vaiṣṇavaṁ nāradiyaṁ ca tathā bhāgavataṁ śubham //82
garuḍaṁ ca tathā pādmaṁ vārāhaṁ śubhadarśane
sāttvikāni purāṇāni vijñeyāni śubhāni vai //83
brāhmāṇḍaṁ brahmavaivartaṁ mārkaṇḍeyaṁ tathaiva
ca
bhāviṣyaṁ vāmanaṁ brāhmaṁ rajasāni nibodha me //84

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Kūrma Purāṇa⁷. Therefore, as we can guess from their opinion, the above given classification can fairly be said to be only formal, i.e. modelled after the Śāmkhya philosophy of the Tri-ḡṇa.

Thus if we want to find out a simple and steady method for the systematic arrangement of the Mahāpurāṇa-s, we should take some parts of the Mahāpurāṇa-s having the same content and compare one another from the point of view of style or content, and classify into groups as far as it can be done.

This preliminary essay studies the legend of the birth of Manu Vaivasvata, Yama, Yamī, Manu-Sāvarṇi and the twin Aśvins, described in Sūryavamśa (kings of solar descent), considers the differences and similarities and gives some suggestions for a systematic arrangement of the Mahāpurāṇa-s. But in order to classify the Mahāpurāṇa-s systematically, it is necessary to be in a position of giving a complete judgement based on a collection of various studies on the same subject, so that, in this respect, this essay is truly no more than preliminary.

The reason why I have chosen especially the legend of Yama's birth etc. in this essay is that, as Hinduism, mainly Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva, recognized Purāṇa-s as sacred books, almost all the contents of the Purāṇa-s have been modified and corrected according to the Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Śākta etc. faith, so that it is quite difficult to approach the original Purāṇic works and discuss a systematic arrangement as we have to use, as models, modified contents. Consequently, if we could choose topics often described in the Purāṇa-s and not much modified by Hinduism and study their differences, it would be possible to find out a systematic arrangement in a comparatively simple way. However, even this legend of Yama's birth, chosen with such an intention, was a little coloured by the faith on Śiva or Sūrya in some Purāṇa-s as I will explain later.

The legend of Yama's birth given here as a model is a little different according to the Purāṇa-s, but generally its content is as follows.

Kaśyapa's son, Vivasvat-Mārtanḍa (in this case regarded as the Sun god) took Samjñā, Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter, for his wife. And he

7. R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, The University of Dacca, 1940, pp. 57-75.

had children from her, viz. Manu-Vaivasvata and the twins Yama and Yamī (in this case identified with Yamunā). However, the light of her husband, Vivasvat-Mārtanḍa, was so strong that Saṁjñā could not endure it. She asked Chāyā (Shadow) who had her completely equal features to substitute her, serve her husband and take care of her children. Asking from her not to reveal the fact to the Sun god, she returned to her father, Tvaṣṭṛ. But Tvaṣṭṛ got angry and ordered her to return to the Sun god. Thus Saṁjñā unwillingly became a mare and roamed about into the fields of Uttara Kuru-s. On the other hand the Sun god, ignorant of Saṁjñā's disappearance, had children from Chāyā, viz. Manu-Sāvarṇi and Śanaiścara (Saturn). Chāyā was partial to her children and ill-treated Saṁjñā's. At last, when Yama, being unable to endure, was going to kick Chāyā, he was cursed by her to have his leg rot and fallen down. Then he confessed everything to his father. Result: the Sun god knowing that she was not Saṁjñā, got angry but when he came to Tvaṣṭṛ, who admonished him and made him get on a potter-wheel, he reduced his excess of light, which had been the cause of Saṁjñā's worry. Viṣṇu's cakras and swords of the gods were made from that scrapped light. The Sun god changed himself into the shape of a horse, and pro-created the twin gods Aśvins from Saṁjñā who had previously changed into a mare. On the other hand, Yama, after he had got the result of Chāyā's curse, gained the qualification of Lokapāla, i. e. the one who governs the pitṛ-s (ancestors).

The descriptions of this content are found in the following parts of the 18 Mahāpurāṇa-s.⁸

LIST I

1. Brahma-p. (ASS. No. 28) VI. 1-52.
2. Brahmāṇḍa-p (Veṅkateśvara, Saṁvat 1992, Śake 1857) II. 59.33-84.
3. Vāyu-p. (ASS. No 46) LXXXIV. 32-84.
4. Mārkaṇḍeya-p. (Veṅkateśvara, Saṁvat ? Śake ?) CIII. 3-CV. 46.

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8. This description could not be found in the Vāmana-p., Bṛhan-nārāḍīya p., Skanda-p., Brahmavaivarta-p. which belong to the 18 Mahāpurāṇa-s, Moreover this legend contains various elements which should be analyzed by mythologists, but I did not mention them in this essay.

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5. Bhaviṣya(t)-p. (Veṅkateśvara, Saṁvat 1953, Śake 1818) I. 79. 17-81.
6. Matsya-p. (ASS. No. 54) XI. 1-39.
7. Padma-p. (a) (ASS. No. 28) V. 8. 35-74.
Padma-p. (b) (Veṅkateśvara, Saṁvat 1951, Śake 1816) I. 8. 36-75.
8. Kūrma-p. (Veṅkateśvara, Saṁvat 1983, Śake 1848) I. 20. 1-4.
9. Liṅga-p. (Veṅkateśvara, Saṁvat 1981, Śake 1846) LXV. 2-16.
10. Viṣṇu-p. (Veṅkateśvara, Saṁvat 1967, Śake 1832) III. 2. 2-13.
11. Bhāgavata-p. (Veṅkateśvara, Saṁvat 1971, Śake 1836) IX. 1. 10-11.
12. Varāha-p. (Veṅkateśvara, Saṁvat 1967) XX. 5-19.
13. Agni-p. (ASS. No 11) CLXXIII. 2-4.
14. Garuḍa-p. (Veṅkateśvara, Saṁvat 1963, Śake 1828) CXXXVIII. 2-3.
15. Harivaṁśa (R. Kinjawadekar ed. Mahābhārata, Pt. VII, Poona, 1936) I. 9. 1-64.
16. Śiva-p. (One of the Upa-purāṇa-s, Veṅkateśvara, Saṁvat 1982, Śake 1847) V. 35. 1-41.

All these 11 Mahāpurāṇa-s, the Harivaṁśa and the Śiva-purāṇa, which is an Upa-purāṇa, describe this legend, having as a common feature the so called śloka, in which 1 verse consists of 32 syllables. In this essay, 1 verse is divided into 4 pada-s, 8 syllables each, and research is carried on the corresponding relation between the wordings among pada s

The problem rises now about which Purāṇic text should be chosen as standard. Fortunately W. Kirfel has already proved which text must practically be recognized as standard⁹. I decide

9. Willibald Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa*, S. 281-298.

In this following case, ex. g.

vivasvān kaśyapāj jajñe dākṣāyaṇyām mahāyaśaḥ
tasya bhāryābhavat saṁjñā tvāṣṭrī devī vivasvataḥ /1/

to use it. The aim of this essay is only to consider the systematic arrangement of the Purāṇa-s. A strict criticism of the texts should therefore be postponed to another occasion.

II Subject

The legend of Yama's birth, as I have explained above, is described with more or less details in these 16 works¹⁰, which can be divided into the following three groups on account of their wording and their content.

(1) Mārkaṇḍeya-p., Vāyu-p., Brahmāṇḍa-p., Brahma-p., Bhaviṣya(t)-p., Harivaṁśa, Śiva-p.¹¹

(2) Matsya p., Padma-p., (a), (b), Kūrma-p., Liṅga-p.¹²

(3) Viṣṇu-p., Bhāgavata-p., Varāha-p., Agni-p., Guraḍa-p.¹³

(1) group : the Purāṇa-s almost completely tally with one-another both on content and on wording.

LIST II

	2a,	2b,	6c,	6d,	7a,	7b,	8a,	8b,	9c,	9d,	10a,	10b,	10c,	10d,	10e,	10f,	15a,	15b,		17c,	17d,	18a,	18b,	
	2a,	2b,	6c,	6d,	7a,	7b,	8a,	8b,	9c,	9d,	10a,	10b,	10c,	10d,			15a,	15b,	15c,	15d,	17c,	17d,	18a,	18b,
Vayu -purāṇa																								
Brahmāṇḍa -purāṇa																								
Brahma -purāṇa																								
Harivaṃśa																								
Siva-purāṇa																								
Mārkaṇḍeya -purāṇa																								
Bhaviṣya(t) -purāṇa																								

(W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, S. 284)

For convenience' sake we have :

vivasvān kaśyapāj jajñe 1a

dākṣāyaṇyām mahāyaśāḥ 1b

tasya bhāryābhavat saṁjñā 1c

tvāṣṭrī devī vivasvataḥ 1d

So, if only 1a, 1b is given we mean the standard text of W. Kirfel, and if ex. g. Viṣṇu 2a is given we indicate the śloka 2a of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. W. Kirfel in his 'Introduction' affirms that the original Purāṇa possessed pañca lakṣaṇa. Kirfel's work is a kind of criticism meant for researching the original Purāṇa, but the Purāṇa-s, just like the epics, seem to be spread over a large scale and include a lot of variants, so that in this meaning this book is not a pure critical edition. The same thing can be said also about another similar study by W. Kirfel, and about F.G. Pargiter's *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, with introduction and notes*.

(2) group : the same thing as in group (1), in

(3) group instead : the Purāṇa-s form a kind of multiplicity; i. e. they narrate what can be found neither in group (1) nor in group (2) by integrating into one separate group.

Among these three groups viz. (1), (2), (3), sometimes we find similar pada-s.¹⁴ But we should say that these similar pada-s are too dispersed and often disordered to expect a certain common text among these three groups. It should be better to consider them as accidental resemblance.

First of all I will briefly describe each Purāṇa of group (1).

The *Vāyu-p.* describes the legend, which I told above, with 222 pada-s.¹⁵ Its content hardly differs from the others of group (1).

LIST II

[illegible]

10. Refer to list I
11. These Purāṇa-s, except Śiva-p, contain 50 more śloka-s. Moreover it should be noticed that while discussing the systematic arrangement of the Purāṇa-s on the base of the sources which have comparatively few blanks, just like the ones studied in this essay, the number of verses for classification should be standard.
12. The number of śloka-s is 40 except in the Kūrma-p. and Liṅga-p. Since the Kūrma-p. and Liṅga-p. contain less śloka-s, they belong to this group only on account of the wording.
13. There are only very few śloka-s.
14. Similar pada-s are found in 6 cases:
 - 1.—1a, vivasvān kaśyapāj jajñe
 - 2.—2a, vivasvān kaśyapāt pūrvam
 - 1.—8a1, yamaś ca yamunā caiva
 - 2.—4a, yamaś ca yamunā caiva

The *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* describes it with 202 pada-s¹⁶ and its content is the closest to that of *Vāyu-p.*

The *Brahma-p.* uses 206 pada-s¹⁷ for this legend, and as for the content, it resembles *Vāyu-p.* and *Brahmāṇḍa-p.*

In the *Harivaṁśa* this legend is expressed with 260 pada-s.¹⁸ It is different from the other three *Purāṇa-s* described above on the following points : viz. it gives the reason why Vivasvat-Mārtaṇḍa's face is red and in between, adds the list of Āditya group of gods.

The *Śiva-p.* dedicates 160 pada-s¹⁹ to this legend. It is damaged in several parts, if compared with the other *Purāṇa-s*.

Though the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* describes this legend with 402 pada-s²⁰, i. e. from CIII. 3 to CV. 46 (three chapters), in fact 166 pada-s²¹ narrate the legend. The end of CIII, the beginning of CIV and CV are śloka-s in praise of the Sun. In other words, the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* has the peculiarity of introducing in the middle of this legend lauds in praise of the Sun, an addition that seems to be based on devotion. The beginning of the legend seems to be lost in this *Purāṇa*, and generally there are many lacunae if compared with the other *Purāṇa-s*.

1.—8b1; 8b2, yamajau sambabhūvatuh

2.—4b, yamajau tu babhūvatuh

1.—17b, samjñeyam iti cintayan

2.—8b, samjñeyam iti cādarāt

1.—21c, padā samtarjayāmāsa

2.—11c, samtarjayāmāsa tadā

1.—49b, viṣṇoś cakram akalpayat

2.—29 b, cakram viṣṇor akalpayat

3.—Viṣṇu 11b, viṣṇoś cakram akalpayat

15. 53 śloka-s. The causes leading to difference between the number of śloka-s and the number of pada-s is due to including cases in which 1 śloka consists of 6 pada-s instead of 4. From this point the following *Purāṇa-s* are also in the same case.

16. 51 1/2 Śloka-s.

17. 52 Śloka-s.

18. 63 1/2 Śloka-s.

19. 40 1/2 Śloka-s.

20. 100 Śloka-s.

21. 41 1/2 Śloka-s

The *Bhaviṣya (t)-p.* describes it with 243 pada-s²², but of them 100 padas look like an addition and seem to be a filling up the lacunae, especially when compared with the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.*. But this filling up seems to be done pretty freely.

Secondly I will describe the reciprocal relation of the Purāṇas belonging to group (1). In this case, the following thing should be noticed, i.e. there are 17 cases²³ which in spite of describing almost the same content differ in the wording or in using more pada-s than the others, that is, the way of expression divides into two kinds. The differences of expression can become a stern standard for knowing the systematic arrangement of the texts, thus I decided to use them.

List III

	Vāyu-p.	Brahmāṇḍa-p.	Brahma-p.	Harivaṃśa	Śiva-p.	Mārkaṇḍeya-p.	Bhaviṣya(t)-p.
Vāyu-p.		83	86	88	51	50	57
Brahmāṇḍa-p.	91		90	88	54	53	56
Brahma-p.	92	87		98	56	53	59
Harivaṃśa	72	65	74		44	40	43
Śiva-p.	66	64	68	70		46	44
Mārkaṇḍeya-p.	39	42	43	43	30		32
Bhaviṣya(t)-p.	48	43	47	45	29	31	

22. 64 Śloka-s.

23. When the almost same thought is expressed in various ways, we indicate ex. g. 15 a 1, 15 b 1, 15 a 2, 15 b 2, where the number (1 or 2) added to the letter shows the text-group according to W. Kirfel's standard text. The following list shows the 17 cases with the number indicating the pada.

If we consider the relation between the *Brahma-p.* and *Brahmāṇḍa p.* we see that they have two kinds of expression in the majority of cases.²⁴ As for the pada-s instead *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* gets 83%²⁵ of *Vāyu-p.*'s pada-s and moreover is equal to it word by word. This indicates very close relation²⁶ between these two *Purāṇa-s.*

The *Vāyu-p.* uses 10 more pada-s²⁷ than the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* to express this legend. These pada-s may be considered to have been added in the *Vāyu-p.* or to have dropped in the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.*

The *Vāyu-p.* and *Brahma-p.* show different style as they have different expressions.²⁸ On the other hand, however, the *Brahma p.* has a degree of pada-s (86%²⁹) which tally with *Vāyu-p.*'s pada-s. This suggests that in spite of being in a very close position, they should be distinguished. Same thing we can say for the relation between the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* and *Brahma-p.*³⁰

- (1) 2a1, 2b1, 2a2, 2b2; (2) 6c1, 6d1, 6c2, 6d2;
 (3) 7a1, 7b1, 7a2, 7b2; (4) 8a1, 8b1, 8a2, 8b2;
 (5) 9c1, 9d1, 9c2, 9d2; (6) 10a1, 10b1; 10a2, 10b2
 (7) 15a1, 15b1, 15a2, 15b2; (8) 17c1, 17d1, 17c2, 17d2;
 (9) 18a1, 18b1, 18a2, 18b2, 18c2, 18e2, 18f2, 18g2, 18h2;
 (10) 19a1, 19b1, 19c1, 19d1, 19a2, 19b2, 19c2, 19d2; (11)
 20a1, 20b1, 20a2, 20b2; (12) 22c1, 22d1, 22c2, 22d2,
 22e2, 22f2; (13) 23a1, 23b1, 23a2, 23b2, 23c2, 23d2; (14)
 24a1, 24b1, 24c1, 24d1, 24a2, 24b2; (15) 36c1, 36d1,
 36c2, 36d2; (16) 37a1, 37b1, 37a2, 37b2; (17) 38a1, 38b1,
 38a2, 38b2.

Refer to List II, W. Kirfel, *op. cit.*

24. Refer to List II.

25. 91% of the pada-s involved in the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* are identical word by word. Refer to list II.

26. H. H. Wilson presumes that the *Vāyu-p.* and *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* originally were the same. F. E. Pargiter also supposes the same thing by comparing the genealogy described in the *Purāṇas*; W. Kirfel also comes to the same conclusion. This preliminary essay does not contradict to these scholars. cf. H. H. Wilson, *The Vishnu Purana, A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition*, Calcutta, 1961, p. liii; F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 77f; W. Kirfel, *op. cit.* S. X. f.

27. *Vāyu* 43c, d; 46c, d; 47a, b, c, d; 51c, d.

28. Refer to list II

29. Refer to list III

30. Refer to list II, III

The *Vāyu-p.*, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* and the *Harivaṁśa* show utterly contrasted style³¹ if we consider the two kinds of expression, but except for this they are almost the same. Therefore, they should be somewhat distinguished, and according to the percentage of identification,³² we should say that the gap between the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* and the *Harivaṁśa* is bigger than the one existing between the *Vāyu-p.* and the *Harivaṁśa*.

Let us now see the relation between the *Vāyu-p.*, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* and *Śiva-p.* First of all, as for the relation between the *Vāyu-p.* and *Śiva-p.* although the *Śiva-p.* has some blanks if we consider the two kinds of expression, yet the *Vāyu-p.* considerably differs from the *Śiva-p.*³³ On the other hand also the percentage of identification among them is very low³⁴; their relation should be said more remote than the one existing between the *Vāyu-p.* and the *Harivaṁśa*. As for the *Śiva-p.*; it has almost the same relation the *Vāyu* and the *Harivaṁśa* have with the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.*, but according to the rate of identification,³⁵ we can see that the relation of those two among themselves is closer than the one with the *Vāyu-p.*

And how is the relation between the *Vāyu-p.*, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* and the *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.*? The *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* has 12 pada-s³⁶ less than the others as far as the two kinds of expression are concerned. But the pada-s, although two of them have a different expression,³⁷ are almost the same from the point of view of style. There is no such contrast as we have seen by comparing the *Brahma-p.*, *Harivaṁśa* and *Śiva-p.*³⁸. On the other hand it tallies with the

31. Refer to list II

32. Because 72% of the *Harivaṁśa* tally with the *Vāyu-p.* and 65% with the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* Refer to list III.

33. Refer to list II

34. Only 51% of the Pada-s of the *Vāyu-p.* (and 66% of the *Śiva-p.*). Refer to list III

35. For the style refer to list II. The rate of identification is 54% of the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (and 64% of the *Śiva-p.*).

36. 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 9c, 9d, 10a, 10b, 10c, 10d, 15a, 15b. Refer to list II

37. 2a1, 2b1. Refer to list II

38. Refer to list II

Vāyu-p. only for a 57%.³⁹ Moreover the relation between the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* and *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* is also almost similar to the one with the *Vāyu-p.*

As for the relation between the *Vāyu-p.*, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* and *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* the *Mārkaṇḍeya* in spite of having many gaps into the two kinds of expression, resembles the two other *Purāṇa-s* in its style⁴⁰; on the other hand, it identifies with the *Vāyu-p.* by 50% and with the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* by 53%.

With that I have briefly discussed the reciprocal relations between the texts belonging to the group (I), and their connection mainly with *Vāyu-p.* and *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* As a result we have that the relation between the *Vāyu-p.* and *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* should be regarded almost as identical rather than very similar, and that, while they are so resembling the *Brahma-p.*, *Harivaṁśa* and *Śiva-p.*, they are close to the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* and *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* from the point of view of the style, in spite of low percentage of identification.⁴²

If we compare the *Brahma-p.* which should be distinguished from the *Vāyu-p.* and *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* in spite of its resembling them, with the other *Purāṇa-s*, we shall find a close connection with the *Harivaṁśa*. Namely, the *Brahma-p.* utterly tallies with the *Harivaṁśa* word by word as far as the two kinds of expression are concerned⁴³. On the other hand also the 98% of the *Brahma-p.*

39. 48% of the *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* Refer to list III. For the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* and *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* refer also to list II.III

40. Refer to list III

41. 39% and 42% respectively of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* Refer to list III

42. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* and *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* are close to the *Vāyu-p.* *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* on account of their style, but for the *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* we cannot say that it has no relation at all with the *Brahma-p.*, *Harivaṁśa* and *Śiva-p.* (refer to fn 37) The relation between the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* and the *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* is rather intimate, I will described it later.

43. Refer to list II

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tallies with it word by word.⁴⁴ But the Harivaṁśa has 54 pada-s⁴⁵ more than the Brahma-p., so to suggest a more artificial effort.⁴⁶

As regards the *Brahma-p.* and *Śiva-p.*, though the latter has many gaps, they are almost similar in the two kinds of expression.⁴⁷ However they seldom tally word by word.⁴⁸ Such kind of relation is found also in the case of the connection between the Harivaṁśa and *Śiva-p.*⁴⁹.

About the relation between the *Brahma-p.*, *Harivaṁśa* and *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* shows contrast with both of them

44. Equal to 74% of the Harivaṁśa. Refer to list III
45. Harivaṁśa 19 c, d; 27c-28d; 29a, b; 39c-40d; 42a-43b; 46a-51d; 56c, d; 61c-62b. We can guess from this example that these pada-s were inserted one by one as an integration.
46. As we know from fn 45, it cannot be said that it completed the narration where it is lacking. Regarding the difference between the Brahma-p. and the Harivaṁśa, the following possibilities can be considered:

(1) There was a common source from which both the Brahma-p. and the Harivaṁśa took (in this case, the original content is the Brahma-p. itself); both the Purāṇa-s quoted from it independently and the Harivaṁśa added.

(2) The common source (in this case, the original content is the Harivaṁśa itself) was quoted by them and the present Brahma-p. omitted the part for some reasons. (Refer to fn 45)

(3) The Harivaṁśa borrowed it from the Brahma-p. and enlarged it.

(4) The Brahma p. borrowed it from the Harivaṁśa, and dropped some parts of it. About the close relation between the Brahma-p. and the Harivaṁśa W. Ruben wrote an excellent concordance: Walter Ruben, *Krishna, Konkordanz und Kommentar der Motive seines Heldenlebens*, Instanbuler Schriften Nr. 17, Istanbul, 1943, S. 297 f; R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Puranic Records*, etc., pp. 147-55.

47. Refer to list II.
48. 50% of the Brahma-p. and 63% of the Śiva-p. Refer to list III.
49. Almost same style; the rate of identification is 44% and 70% of the Harivaṁśa and the Śiva-p. respectively.

in the style⁵⁰, and moreover also the rate of identification is very low.⁵¹ These things prove that a big gap exists among them.

The relation of the *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* with the *Brahma-p.* and *Harivaṁśa* also indicates a big gap⁵², just like in the case of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.*, but it is not correct to say that it has nothing to do with them, for it has 2 pada-s⁵³ equal to the *Brahma-p.*

The *Śiva-p.* differs in style from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.*, and their rate of identification is also low.⁵⁴

The relation between the *Śiva-p.* and *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* is the same as above⁵⁵, but there is some possibility to assign them to the same group when we consider the case which has already been described above, i.e. the relation of the *Brahma-p.* and *Harivaṁśa* with the *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.*

Lastly between the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* and *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.*, while the style is almost the same⁵⁶, the rate of identification is pretty low⁵⁷; a fact that might come from having filled in the lost parts to such a great extent. It is significant, however, that 12 pada-s are identical⁵⁸ only in these two Purāṇa-s; they have presumably the same origin.

So we have now become acquainted with the construction of group (1), which consists of the *Vāyu-p.* closely connected with the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* and of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* having almost the same

50. Refer to list II.

51. 53% of the *Brahma-p.* (43 of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.*), only 40% of the *Harivaṁśa* (43% of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.*). Refer to list III.

52. The rate of identification is 59% of the *Brahma-p.* (47% of the *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.*), 43% of the *Harivaṁśa* (45% of the *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.*). Refer to list III.

53. 2a1. 2b1.

54. Refer to list II. The rate of identification is 46% of the *Śiva-p.* (30% of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.*). Refer to list III.

55. Refer to list II, III.

56. Refer to list II.

57. Only 32% of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* and 31% of the *Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* Refer to list III.

58. *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* 16c, d; 17a, b; 22a, b; 37c, d; 38a, b; 40a, b. (*Bhaviṣya(t)-p.* 30c, d; 31a, b; 36a, b; 49a, b, c, d; 51c, d.)

tendency as the above two, but with a lot of additions; then there is the Bhaviṣya(t)-p. which has some relations with these three Purāṇa-s but at the same time has some possibility of being related to the other group constituted by the Brahma-p., Harivamśa and Śiva-p.

Well, now I shall consider the group (2), consisting of the Matsya-p., Padma-p. (a), (b), Kūrma-p. and Liṅga-p.⁵⁹. The Matsya-p. and Padma-p. (a), (b) contain about 40 śloka-s, they differ from the Kūrma-p. and Liṅga-p., but tally in some parts with them as I will say later.

About the legend of Yama's birth described by the two Padma-p.⁶⁰ we find small variants among them, although in different places⁶¹, i. e. only 50 pada-s out of 158⁶²; the rest tallies completely word by word, and the number of śloka-s is also the same.

This very legend as described in the Matsya-p. (158 pada-s) differs a little from the Padma-p. only in 12 pada-s.⁶³ 3 pada-s⁶⁴ have completely different expression, in other 4 instead⁶⁵, which are parallel to the Padma, Brahman appears in the Padma-p. while Śiva appears in the Matsya-p.⁶⁶ and this is the only big difference. For the remaining 146 pada-s of the Matsya, there are some irregularities in the order of the words and small variants but the

59. Refer to list I.

60. I used the Padma-p. of the ASS for (a) and Veṅkateśvara for (b). Refer to list I.

61. (a) V. 8; (b) I. 8. both are Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa. In this case the difference depends on the order of the khaṇḍa-s.

62. Variants concern prefixes, adverbs, conjunctions, so that they are not so important. They are also considered as copying mistakes.

63. Matsya 6 a, b; 15 b; 18 c, d; 19 a, b, c, d; 21 a, b; 39 b.

64. Matsya 6 a, 15 b, 32 b.

65. Matsya 19 a, c, d; 21 b.

66. It is not necessary to show all the peculiarities of these Purāṇa-s. It is enough to say that Brahman and Śiva appear in these Purāṇa-s respectively. cfr. R. C. Hazra, *Puranic Records etc.*

differences are almost the same as the ones between the two Padma-p.⁶⁷.

Next to be considered are the *Kūrma-p.* and *Liṅga-p.* The *Kūrma-p.* uses 14 pada-s⁶⁸ and describes only one point, namely the Sun god had four wives, among which Tvaṣṭr's daughter, Samjñā, who gave birth to Manu, Yama and Yamunā; the other wives too procreated. 5 pada-s are equal with the *Matsya-p.* and *Padma-p.* The *Liṅga-p.* describes this legend in 64 pada-s⁷⁰ giving some details. 12 pada-s in the beginning and 2 more⁷¹ tally almost word by word with part of the *Kūrma-p.*, which has been discussed above.⁷² The *Liṅga-p.* prolongs further the narration, if confronted with the *Kūrma-p.* The story commences with the struggle between Yama and his step mother, Chāyā, and ends with the birth of the Aśvins. 12 pada-s out of 64⁷³ are similar with the *Matsya-p.* and *Padma-p.* almost word by word. The connection between the *Kūrma-p.* and *Liṅga-p.* is in this part absolutely close and is related to the *Matsya-p.* and *Padma-p.* too.⁷⁴

67. There are two kinds of hypothesis about the relation between the *Matsya-p.* and *Padma-p.*

1. Common independent origin.
2. One borrowed from the other.

In the case of (1), the origin should be searched outside the Mahāpurāṇa-s and in the case of (2), according to the chronology fixed by R. C. Hazra in the Chapter 'Smṛti in the Purāṇa-s', the *Padma-p.* seems to have quoted from the *Matsya-p.* Cf. R. C. Hazra, *Puranic Records etc.* pp. 33-34.

68. 3 1/2 Śloka-s. Refer to list I.

69. *Kūrma* 2 a; 3 a, c; 4 a, b.

70. 16 śloka-s. Refer to list I.

71. *Liṅga* 2 a, b, c, d; 3 a, b, c, d; 4 a, b, c, d; 5 c, d.

72. Namely, this part of the *Kūrma-p.* is equal to the beginning of the *Liṅga-p.*

73. *Liṅga* 3 a; 4 b, c; 5d; 6c, d; 7 a, b; 8 c; 9 b; 10 c; 12 c.

74. The relations between the *Kūrma-p.* and the *Liṅga-p.* are mainly the following :

- (1) The *Liṅga-p.* quoted from the *Kūrma* and added the legend.
- (2) The *Kūrma-p.* borrowed from the *Liṅga-p.* omitting part of the legend.
- (3) There was a certain common source which did not have it and the *Kūrma-p.* used it without any modi-

The *Viṣṇu-p.* explains the legend with 48 pada-s.⁷⁶ Its content is almost equal to the others, but we may fairly say that it has no connection with the others, except for 2 pada-s⁷⁶ traceable in Purāṇa-s of group (1) and (2). The description is extremely brief⁷⁷, so that the whole legend can be clearly understood only with the help of the commentaries.⁷⁸

The *Bhāgavata-p.* merely narrates the descent of Marīci, and Vivasvat etc. with 8 pada-s⁷⁹, and has no similarities with the other narrations.

The *Varāha-p.* uses 66 padas⁸⁰ to describe the same story⁸¹, but has no pada-s identical with the other Purāṇa-s.

fiction, the *Liṅga-p.* quoted from it and added the legend.

- (4) There was a source with the legend; the *Liṅga* quoted it as it was, the *Kūrma-p.* quoted it without the legend. A certain common source for the *Kūrma-p.*, *Liṅga-p.*, *Matsya-p.* and *Padma-p.* can be expected, but it is impossible to prove it.

75. 12 Śloka-s. Refer to list I.

76. *Viṣṇu* 9a; 11 b.

77. The briefness and the regularity of the *Viṣṇu-p.* through all its parts made F.E. Pargiter produce two contradictory opinions, one is 'the new purāṇa-s', and the other is 'the old purāṇa-s free from revision'. Cf. F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 80. R. C. Hazra, *Puranic Records etc* pp. 19, 25-26.

78. Theodor Aufrecht points out the following commentaries;

1. The note by Citsukha-muni
2. Jagannātha Pāṭhaka: Svabhāvārthadīpikā
3. The note by Nṛsiṃha Bhaṭṭa.
4. Ratnagarbha: *Vaiṣṇavākūṭacandrikā*
5. The note by Viṣṇucitta
6. Śrīdharaśvāmin : *Ātmaprakāśa*, or *Svaparakāśa*
7. The note by Sūryakaramiśra

Cf. Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum, An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit Works and Authors*, printed for the German Oriental Society, Leipzig, 1819-1903, vol. I, p. 531; vol. II, p. 140; vol. III, p. 124. I could consult only 4. 5. 6. The note by Viṣṇucitta (see No. 5) adds the title 'Viṣṇucitti'.

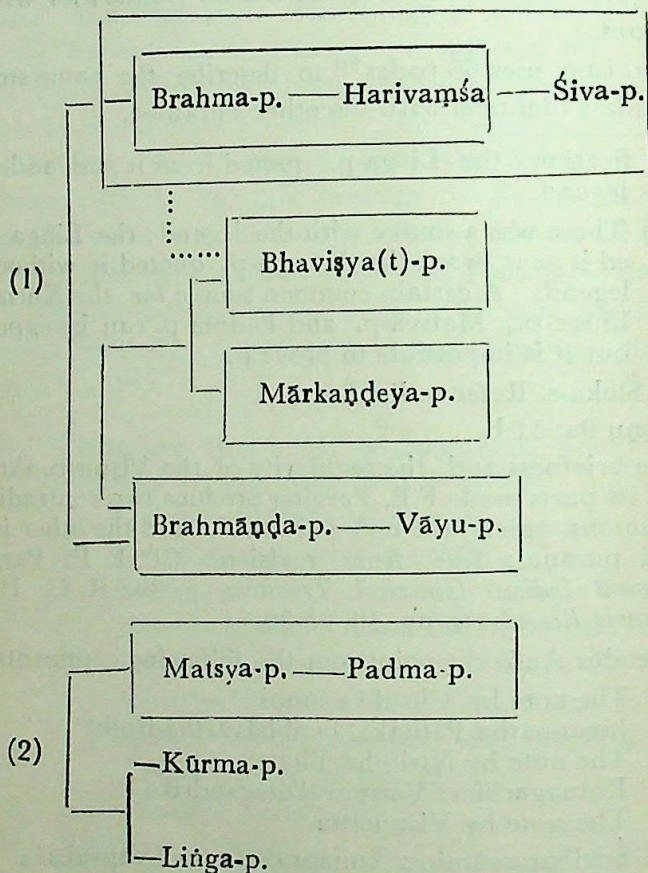
79. 2 Śloka-s. Refer to list I.

80. 16 1/2 Śloka-s. Refer to list I.

81. While in the other Purāṇa-s Yama was cursed by Chāyā in revenge for the kick, in this Purāṇa it was she that cursed him with anger, when Yama complained Chāyā's unfairness to the Sun god.

The *Agni-p.* and *Garuḍa-p.* describe merely the lineage⁸² of the Sun god with 12 and 6 pada-s respectively. They do not contain pada-s similar to the other Purāṇa-s.

Well, I have brought forward one aspect of the systematic arrangement of the Purāṇa-s, putting the legend of Yama's birth as a centre. An illustration of what has been said can be given in the following way.



This essay is merely preliminary, and the conclusion drawn here, of course, cannot be adopted as a systematic arrangement of the whole Purāṇic literature.

(This essay is one of the results, owing to the expenses for the integral study of science by the Ministry of Education in the 42nd year of Showa, 1966).

82. *Agni-p.*, 3 Śloka-s., *Garuḍa-p.* 1 1/2 Śloka-s. Refer to list I.

Notes and Comments

A NOTE ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF LUDHIANA

An article on the "Identification of Ludhiana on the Basis of Epics and the Purāṇas" by Śrī O. P. Bharadwaj was published in the Purāṇa Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (July, 1975). The author has put forward his arguments on the identification of Ludhiana with ancient Ailadhāna very brilliantly but certain doubts crop up in the mind of the reader about this identification.

Bharadwaj derives Ludhiana from Ailadhāna and also accepts as correct V. S. Agrawal's identification of Vāṭadhāna with modern Bhatinda (Bhaṭṭiṇḍā). It is not intelligible as to how the name ending 'dhāna' changed into ān > ānā in case of Ailadhāna but into 'iṇḍā' in case of Vāṭadhāna which lay in the same cultural, geographical and linguistic region. If 'dhāna' changes into ān or ānā in one case, its change should be parallel in the other case.¹ And it is strange that this name-ending still persists in its original form in the name of Karadhāna on the river Tangri near Ambala.²

Bharadwaj states that Ailadhāna has been described in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa as a town on the Sutlej and quotes the

1. It may be pointed out here that the name-ending 'iṇḍā' (or 'iṇḍā') and 'viṇḍā' (as in Bhikhiviṇḍā) can more reasonably be derived from 'piṇḍā' according to the rules of grammar : कण्वत्तद्वयवा प्राथम्येण and पितृ recorded in the Prākṛta Prakāśa of Vararuci. Following these rules Dr. Jaidev Vidyānāṅkar's derivation of the present name of Bhaṭṭiṇḍā from Bhaṭṭipiṇḍā (through Bhaṭṭiviṇḍā > Bhaṭṭiṇḍā) seems to be more plausible. For details see Dr. Jaidev Vidyānāṅkar, "Toponymy of certain towns and villages in the Erstwhile Panjabi speaking areas with special reference to the word 'Piṇḍā'," *Summaries of Papers* (Ed. Surya Kanta), A.I.O.C., XXIII Session, Aligarh, 1966, pp. 163-64.
2. Bharadwaj's conviction that the places with the 'dhāna' name-ending were situated near the rivers is also fallacious. Rathdhana near Sonapat on the Delhi-Panipat section of the Northern Railway belies this belief. Rathdhana is an ancient town as evidenced by an old mound which lies near the present village.

following verses in support of his contention—

स प्राङ्मुखो राजगृहादभिनिर्याय वीर्यवान् ।
 ततः सुदामां द्युतिमान् संतीर्यवेक्ष्य तां नदीम् ॥1॥
 ह्लादिनीं दूरपारां च प्रत्यक्स्रोतस्तरङ्गिणीम् ।
 शतद्रुमतरच्छीमान्नदीमिक्ष्वाकुनन्दनः ॥2॥
 ऐलघाने नदीं तीर्त्वा प्राप्य चापरपर्वतान् ।
 शिलामाकुर्वतीं तीर्त्वा आग्नेयं शल्यकर्षणम् ॥3॥
 सत्यसन्धः शुचिर्भूवा प्रेक्षमाणः शिलावहाम् ।
 अभ्यगात् स महाशैलन् वनं चित्ररथं प्रति ॥4॥

The passage quoted does not warrant that Ailadhāna lay just on the bank of the Sutlej. Verse 3 on the other hand indicates that Ailadhāna stood on the northern bank of a river and it was after crossing the river at Ailadhāna that Bharata reached the mountains. The use of the root 'tr' once each in the first two verses and twice in verse three indicates that Bharata crossed four rivers or rivulets, two before he reached Ailadhāna and two in between that town and Śalyakarṣaṇa. But Bharadwaj would make us believe that all the three uses of 'tr' (in verses 2 and 3) stand only for crossing the Sutlej.

It is true that the name-ending *Āyana* used in Sanskrit place names was not adopted by the Muslims, but we do get place-names ending in *ānā* during the Mohammedan period, e. g. Gungrana³, Himmatana,⁴ Narwana⁵, Makrānā⁶, Sivānā⁷, Degana,⁸ Didwana⁹

3. Gungrana, situated 23 km. south of Ludhiana towards Dhuri, was explored by me a few years back. Besides an extant bastion of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time, the only relics which one gets from the site are late medieval bricks and potsherds.
4. Himmatana is situated on the Ludhiana-Hissar section of N. R.
5. Situated on Bhatinda-Rohtak section of N. R.
6. 43 km. from Degana on Degana-Phulera section of the N. R.
7. A late medieval fortified town about 100 km. south-west of Jodhpur.
8. A Railway junction near Ajmer, 43 km. south-west of Makrānā.
9. 66 km. north-east of Degana on Degana-Ratangarh section of N. R.

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Phephānā¹⁰ etc. etc.¹¹ Many of these sites find mention in medieval history of the Mohemmedan period and have yielded antiquarian remains belonging to the medieval period only. Evidently all these and other places with the name-ending 'ānā' were not even in existence in the ancient period and may possibly have been founded during the Mohemmedan period. We cannot trace back their name-ending 'ānā' to Sanskrit 'Āyana' as these places have neither been mentioned in ancient history nor have yielded early historic relics.

Again coming back to Bharadwaj's equation of Ludhiana with Ailadhāna, the town of Ilā's son Pururavas, we may say that the identification is unwarranted firstly because the very historicity of Pururavas is not beyond doubt and secondly because the Purāṇas mention his capital as Pratiṣṭhāna. Places connected with divinities and mythological figures are sometimes found in different parts of the country and cannot always be affiliated to a particular region. We, therefore, should shirk making a certitudinous statement regarding Pururavas whose historicity is doubtful and who has been regarded as "a mythical figure, pure and simple".

Bharadwaj derives Ludhiana from Ailadhāna and does not see anything unnatural or even unusual in the philological. He holds that 'Ai' was dropped and 'dha' changed into 'ha' and thus the name 'Lahāna' which is very near to 'Lohana' as spelt by the noted Moslem historian Mohammed Abul Qasim Firishta, a contemporary of Akbar. It may be noted here that because of the

10. A small village near Nohar in Rajasthana which has yielded Akbar's copper coin and medieval pottery, brick-bats etc.
11. There are a host of place-names ending in 'ānā' in Panjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, U.P. etc.—Ajarana, Banana, Chulkana, Dhanana, Diwana, Dujana, Ghosiana, Hivana, Issrana, Jassana, Jatusana, Kagdana, Kachhrana, Kathana, Katlana, Katana, Khudana, Kinana, Kurana, Madhana, Mangiana, Migana, Mirdana, Misana, Mohana, Mulana, Nagana, Punhana, Sangrana, Samana, Sudana, Sudhrana, Silana, Ujhana, Uplana, Urlana, Vadhana, Vitvana. Vadhabana etc. All these places are not ancient sites and their names cannot be derived from 'Āyana' ending Sanskrit names.

peculiarities of the Arabic and Persian scripts and the languages, Hindu names as given by Moslem chroniclers have undergone considerable change.¹² Ludhiana when written in Persian/Arabic script may also be read as 'Lohana'. The difference between the two words written in Persian/Arabic script is so slight that even experts are liable to misread the words. So if Firishta has transcribed Ludhiana like 'Lohana' there is nothing wrong, because 'Lohana' in the Persian/Arabic script may easily be confused for Ludhiana also.¹³

Even if we agree to all arguments advanced by Bharadwaj to identify the ancient Ailadhāna with modern Ludhiana, the absence of any old relics of the Rāmāyaṇa period or ancient period renders this identification doubtful. As an inhabitant of Ludhiana and interested in the historical geography and toponymy of the region I have been searching for the antiquarian remains at Ludhiana, but failed to get any relics going back to the early historic period.¹⁴ Our attention, on the other hand, goes to Sunet which is about 5 km. west of Ludhiana.¹⁵ Sunet has been in continuous occupation

12. Albīrūnī writes Māhura for Mathura, Ūrdabiśau for Ūrdhvaṇiṣaya, Draura for Draviḍa etc. For many more such examples and details see E. Sachau, *Albīrūnī's India*, Delhi, 1964.

13. That the same words written in Persian/Arabic script could be read differently by different scholars is sufficiently evident from Elliot's and Renaud's readings of the same words of Albīrūnī as Urihāra and Aurabarāhāra, Ūrdabiśak and Auradotyastha respectively. See for details Sachau, *op. cit.*, and J. S. Misra, *Eleventh Century India* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1968, pp. 41-46.

Similarly, the same mint-name on a coin has been read as Ba-gaur, Lakor and Nagaur (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVIII, 1955, pp. 107-8) and the same word on Jehangir's silver coin has been deciphered as Jaler, Jalesar, Hapur and Jagner (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, 1971, p. 122).

14. The remains obtained from Ludhiana so far are some silver coins of the Moghul period and late medieval pottery from the northern skirts of the city, particularly between the Fort and the Goshala Bridge, facing the Buddhā Nālā.

15. As a result of the development and expansion of Ludhiana, Sunet has now become a suburb of Ludhiana.

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from circa sixth century B. C. and a large number of antiquarian remains brought to light by different scholars during the past one century¹⁶ clearly indicates that Sunet was an important and famous city of ancient India. If Sutlej once flowed from near Ludhiana, even Sunet may have stood on its bank. Then it sounds strange that the author of the said verses of the Rāmāyaṇa should prefer to refer to a town Ailadhāna on the Sutlej and not to Sunet which was a flourishing and famous town with glorious past and long history.

—Dr. DEVENDRA HANDA

16. For details see Devendra Handa, "Sunet : An Ancient city of Panjab", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. VIII (1970), pp. 172-6.

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(July-Dec., 1976)

Varāha Purāṇa work

The text of the first 136 Adhyāya-s of the Venkateśvara edition of the Varāha Purāṇa, which will be contained in the proposed first fascicule of the critical edition, has been constituted and the critical apparatus also prepared. Some 50 Adhyāya-s of the critical apparatus have also been revised. A part of the matter has been sent to the Press.

Purāṇa Pāṭha and Pravacana

The Mudgala Purāṇa was recited in the Bālā Tripurasundari Devī Temple of Ramnagar by Śrī Kāmadeva Jhā and the discourses on it were given in the evening by Pt. Thakur Prasad Dvivedi from 28.6.1976 to 6.7.1976. The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa was recited in the Padmanābha Temple of Ramnagar by Śrī Viśvanātha Bhat and the discourses were given by Śrī Viśvanātha Sastri Datar from 31.10.1976 to 6.11.1976.

Veda Pārāyaṇa

The complete text of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, Taittirīya Saṁhitā with its Vikṛti Pārāyaṇa was recited from memory by Śrī Balachandra Ghanapathi, while the Śrotā was Śrī Gaṇesa Bhat Bapat, in the Prabhunārāyaṇeśvara Temple of the Śivālā palace, Varāṇasi from 28.6.76 to 9.8.1976 (Āsāḍha Śukla 1 to Śrāvaṇa Pūrṇimā).

After the scheduled Pārāyaṇa was completed the usual Dakṣiṇā was given to the reciter and to the Śrotā.

Purāṇa Goṣṭhī

On the 10th July 1976, the usual Purāṇa Goṣṭhī was held from 8.30 A. M. after the Veda Pārāyaṇa, which was presided by His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh. It was attended by the Sanskrit scholars of Vārāṇasi and of its three Universities.

सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जुलाई-दिसम्बर १९७६)

वराहपुराणम्

वेङ्कटेश्वरसंस्करणस्य वराहपुराणस्य १३६ अध्यायानां पाठनिर्धारणं पूर्वमेव संवृत्तम् । इमे अध्यायाः वराहपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य प्रथमभागे प्रकाशिता भविष्यन्ति । एषामध्यायानां पाठान्तरलेखनकार्यमपि संपन्नं जातम् । ५० अध्यायानां पाठान्तराणां पुनरीक्षणमपि संपन्नम् । अस्य केचन अंशा मुद्रणालये मुद्रणार्थं प्रेषिताः सन्ति ।

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनं च

१. रामनगरस्थे बालात्रिपुरसुन्दरीमन्दिरे २८.६.७६ दिनाङ्कमारभ्य ६.७.७६ दिनाङ्कं यावत् मुद्गलपुराणस्य पाठः श्रीकामदेव ज्ञानमहोदयेन कृतः । एतद्विषये श्रीठाकुरप्रसादद्विवेदिमहोदयेन प्रवचनं कृतम् ।
२. रामनगरस्थे पद्मनाभमन्दिरे ३१.१०.७६ दिनाङ्कमारभ्य ६.११.७६ दिनाङ्कं यावद् विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणस्य पाठः श्रीविश्वनाथभट्टमहोदयेन कृतः । एतत्पुराणविषये श्रीविश्वनाथ-शास्त्रिदातारमहोदयेन प्रवचनं कृतम् ।

वेदपारायणम्

कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य संपूर्णायाः तैत्तिरीयशाखायाः विकृतिपाठेन सह स्मृत्याधारेण पारायणं न्यासस्य शिवालाभवनस्य प्रभुनारायणेश्वरमन्दिरे आषाढशुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य (२८ जून १९७६) श्रावणपूर्णिमा (९ अगस्त १९७६) पर्यन्तं संजातम् । पारायणं श्रीरामचन्द्रघनपाठिमहोदयेन कृतम् । श्रीगणेशभट्टवापटमहोदयः पारायणस्य श्रोता आसीत् । पारायणसमाप्ती पारायणकर्त्रे श्रोतृमहोदयाय च दक्षिणाः प्रदत्ताः ।

पुराणगोष्ठी

१० जुलाई १९७६ दिनाङ्के वेदपारायणानन्तरं प्रातः ८.३० वादनतः तत्रभवतां काशिनरेशानां महाराज डॉ० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयानामध्यक्षतायां पुराणगोष्ठी सम्पन्ना जाता । अस्यां गोष्ठ्यां वारा-णस्यास्त्रयाणां विश्वविद्यालयानामध्यापकाः नगरस्य अन्ये संस्कृतविद्वांसश्चोपस्थिता आसन् ।

Mention may be made of some of the scholars who attended the Goṣṭhī : Padmabhusan Pt. Rajesvara Sastri Dravid, Dr. Raghunath Singh, former M. P. and Trustee of the Kashiraj Trust, Pt. Baladeva Upadhyaya, former Director of Research, Sanskrit University of Vārāṇasī, Prof. Vagish Shastri, Director of Research, Sanskrit University, Dr. Reva Prasad Dvivedi of B. H. U., Pt. Viśvanātha Sastri Datar, Dr. Raghunath Giri of Kashi Vidyapith and others.

In the beginning the Vasanta Pūjā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda was performed by 14 Vedic Scholars of Kashi, Dakṣiṇā was given to them by Maharaja Kumar Sri Anant Narain Singh. This was greatly appreciated by Scholars as it was a new experience for them to hear the various ways in which mantras could be recited from memory. Śloka-s of Vyāsa Vandanā were recited by Pt. Hirāmaṇi Sastri of the Purāṇa Deptt. of the Kashiraj Trust. The usual half-yearly scholarship of Rs. 600 was given to Pt. Krishna Murti Shrauti who is memorising the Sāmaveda, its Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. The Vyāsa Pūrṇimā number of the Purāṇa Bulletin was then presented by Panditraj Rajeswar Shastri Dravid to his Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, the Chairman of the Trust. The report of the work of the Purāṇa Deptt. was then read by Śrī Anand Swarup Gupta. He placed before them some problems concerning the constituted text of the Varāha Purāṇa and Prayāga Māhātmya which is proposed to be published on the occasion of the *Kumbha Melā* at Allahabad in January 1977. Dr. Reva Prasad Dvivedi recited some ślokas which he had composed in praise of Pt. Rajeswar Sashtri Dravid and Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya who have been recently rewarded Rs. 15,000 each for their Sanskrit learning by the U. P. Government. The Trust offers its congratulations to these Scholars. Pt. Rajeswar Shastri Dravid is one of the Trustees of All-India Kashiraj Trust.

Scholars and Distinguished Persons who visited the Purāṇa Deptt.

1. Dr. Jagdish Gupta, Reader, Hindi Deptt., University of Allahabad, on 23.7. 1976
2. Dr. A. Padoux—CNRS, Paris, on 1.9. 1976
3. Aristide Pirovano, President of the Institute for Asian Studies (ISA), Milan, on 1.12. 1976. The illustrious visitor was “fully satisfied with the wise initiative of His Highness the Maharaja of Benares and wishes full success and great spread of the Indian religious culture”.

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उपस्थितविदुषां—पण्डितराजराजेश्वरशास्त्रिद्रविडमहोदयः, डॉ० रघुनाथसिंहः, पण्डितवलदेवोपाध्यायः, संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्यानुसंधान-निदेशको डॉ० वागीशशास्त्री, हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य प्राध्यापको डॉ० रेवाप्रसादद्विवेदी, संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्याध्यापकः श्रीविश्वनाथशास्त्री दातारः, काशीविद्यापीठस्याध्यापको डॉ० रघुनाथगिरिश्च प्रमुखा आसन् । प्रारम्भे कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य वैदिकवसन्तपूजा संपन्ना जाता । वैदिकेभ्यो महाराज-कुमारेण श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंहेन दक्षिणाः प्रदत्ताः । प्रारम्भे श्रीहीरामणि-मिश्रेण व्यासवन्दना कृता । तदनन्तरं न्यासस्य अध्यक्षः काशिनरेशमहोदयः ब्राह्मणारण्यकोपनिषदादिभिः सह संपूर्णस्य सामवेदस्य कण्ठाग्रकर्त्रे श्री कृष्णमूर्तिश्रीतिविदुषे ६००) रूप्यकाणां पाण्मासिकं वर्षाशनं प्रदत्तम् । तदनन्तरं 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकाया व्यासपूर्णमाङ्कः पण्डितराजराजेश्वरशास्त्रि-द्रविडमहोदयेन तत्र भवद्भ्यो काशिनरेशेभ्यो डॉ० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयेभ्यः समर्पितम् । तदनन्तरं पुराणविभागस्य कार्यविवरणम् श्रीआनन्द-स्वरूपगुप्तमहोदयेन विदुषां समक्षमुपस्थापितम् । तेन वराहपुराणस्य पाठविषये तथा च कुम्भावसरे प्रकाशमानस्य कुम्भविषयकग्रन्थविषये च केचन विचाराः प्रस्तुताः । विद्वद्भिरेतद्विषये स्वमतं प्रकटीकृतम् । उत्तर-प्रदेशशासनेन पुरस्कृतयोर्द्वयोर्विदुषोः—पण्डितराजराजेश्वरशास्त्रिद्रविड महोदयस्य पण्डितवलदेवोपाध्यायमहोदयस्य च प्रशंसायां डॉ० रेवाप्रसादद्विवेदिमहोदयेन केचन स्वरचिताः श्लोकाः पठिताः । अनयोर्विदुषोः सम्मानं उ०प्र० शासनेन प्रतिविदुषे १५०००) रूप्यकाणां प्रदानेन कृतम् । पण्डितराजराजेश्वरशास्त्रिद्रविडमहोदयः सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यासस्य न्यासधारकमण्डलस्य सदस्यो वर्तते ।

पुराणविभागे आगता विद्वांसः

१. डॉ० जगदीशगुप्तः—प्रयागविश्वविद्यालयस्य हिन्दोविभागे प्रवाचकः । (२३.७.७६),
२. डा० ए० पडाउक्स—सी एन आर एस । (पेरिस १.९.७६)
३. एरिस्टाइड पैरोवानो-एसियन-अध्ययनकेन्द्र, मिलान (इटली) इत्यस्याध्यक्षः । (१.१२.७६)

अयं विशिष्टोऽतिथिः लिखति 'तत्र भवतः काशिनरेशस्य कार्येण पूर्णः सन्तुष्टोऽस्मि । भारतीयधार्मिकसंस्कृतेः साफल्यस्य व्यापकप्रचारस्य च मामनां करोमि ।'

Rāsa Lilā

The All-India Kashiraj Trust organizes every year the Rāsalilā in Prasiddha Garden of Ramnagar. The actors of the Rāsalilā come from Mathurā-Vṛndāvana. This year the Rāsalilā was performed from 29 July 1976 to 9th August 1976. A large gathering witnessed the Rāsalilā with great devotion.

Rāma Lilā

The famous Rāma Lilā at Ramnagar, which has great cultural and social importance, is celebrated for a month in Sept.-Oct. every year under the auspices of the All-India Kashiraj Trust with the financial help from the Government of India. This year, 1976, the Rāmalilā was celebrated from the 7th Sept. (Anant Caturdaśī day) upto 7th Oct. (Āśvina Pūrṇimā).

Some members of the staff of the Purāṇa Deptt. also helped in the distributions of the free ration to the sādhus who flock to the Rāmalilā. The free ration is distributed for the whole month throughout the celebrations of the Rāmalilā. Thousands of people witness the Rāmalilā every day and draw healthy inspiration from the story of Śrī Rāma. Due to heavy and insistent rains some Lilās of Janakapur had to be postponed and were completed later. On the last day one boat was caught by a strong storm and capsized in the middle of the Ganges while returning from Ramnagar to Benares. All the people in the boat, except 4, were drowned. The All-India Kashirāj Trust conveys its condolence to their relatives.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS**Maharaja Udit Narain Singh Manasa Prachara Nidhi**

Under the auspices of the Trust an inter-school Tulasī-Sahitya competition was organized on 1st Sept. 1976 on the occasion of the celebration of the Tulasī-Jayantī in the Ramnagar Fort. The winners were given prizes. Verses from Tulasī literature learnt by heart were recited by the students of the Vidyā Mandir Pāṭhaśālā of the Ramnagar Fort and of the other local educational institutions. Judges were Pt. Vishwanath Prasad Ji Mishra, Dr. Ramakant Tripathi and Dr. K. P. Singh. On this occasion Pt. Karuna Pati Tripathi, Vice Chancellor of the Sampūrṇānand Sanskrit University, Vārāṇasī, was the chief guest. He gave a learned speech on the importance of such celebrations and Tulasī literature. He also thanked H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, under whose patronage this celebration is organised. Śrī Yogendra Narain Thakur, Secretary of the Trust, thanked the guests. At the end Prasad was distributed.

रासलीला

सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यासेन प्रतिवर्षं प्रसिद्धोद्याने रासलीलायाः आयोजनं क्रियते । मथुरावृन्दावनात् रासलीलामण्डली राजलीलाप्रदर्शनार्थमागच्छति । अस्मिन् वर्षे २६ जुलाई दिनाङ्कमारभ्य ९ अगस्त दिनाङ्कं यावद् रासलीला संपन्ना जाता । बहवो दर्शकाः श्रद्धाभरितेन मनसा राजलीलां दृष्टवन्तः ।

रामलीला

रामनगरस्य विश्रुता रामलीला सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने भारतशासनस्याधिकसाहाय्येन प्रतिवर्षम् आश्विनमासे (सितम्बर-अक्टूबर) मासपर्यन्तं आयोजिता भवति । रामलीलेषा सांस्कृतिक-दृष्ट्या सामाजिकदृष्ट्या चातीव महत्त्वपूर्णा वर्तते । अस्मिन् वर्षे ७ सितम्बर दिनाङ्के (अनन्तचतुर्दश्यां) रामलीला प्रारब्धा, ७ अक्टूबर दिनाङ्के (आश्विनपूर्णिमायां) च समाप्ता । पुराणविभागीयाः केचन विद्वांसोऽपि रामलीलादर्शनार्थमागतेभ्यः साधुभ्यो भोजनप्रदाने साहाय्यं कृतवन्तः । यावद् रामलीला प्रचलति प्रतिदिनं मासपर्यन्तं साधुभ्यो निःशुल्कं भोजन-सामग्री प्रदीयते । प्रतिदिनं सहस्रशो दर्शका पश्यन्ति अवलोकयन्ति राम-कथायाश्च पावनीं प्रेरणां प्राप्नुवन्ति । अस्मिन् वर्षे अन्तिमे रामलीला दिवसे रामलीलादर्शकैः पूर्णा एकानौका प्रबल भङ्गावातेन गङ्गायां निलीना । नौकायामुपविष्टः सर्वे जना चतुरो विहाय मृताः । तेषां संबन्धोत् प्रति न्यासः समवेदनां दुःखं च ज्ञापयति ।

सहयोगिन्यासानां कार्यविवरणम्

महाराज उदितनारायणसिंह मानसप्रचारनिधिः

अस्य न्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने १ सितम्बर १९७६ ई० दिनाङ्के तुलसी-जयन्तीमहोत्सवावसरे रामनगरदुर्गे अन्तर्विद्यालय-तुलसीसाहित्यप्रतियोगिता संपन्ना जाता । विजेतृछात्रेभ्यः पुरस्काराः प्रदत्ताः । रामनगरदुर्गस्थाया विद्यामन्दिरपाठशालाया अन्यासां पाठशालानां च छात्राः कण्ठस्थस्य तुलसीसाहित्यस्य स्मृत्याधारेण पाठं कृतवन्तः । निर्णायकमहोदयैः तुलसी-साहित्यस्य महत्त्वविषये प्रवचनं कृतम् । पण्डित विश्वनाथ प्रसाद मिश्रः, डा० रमाकान्त त्रिपाठी, डा० के० पी० सिंहश्च निर्णायका आसन् । अस्मिन्न-वसरे सम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्योपकुलपतिः पं० करुणापति-त्रिपाठी महोदयः प्रधानातिथिः आसीत् । अनेन एतादृशानामुत्सवानां महत्त्व-विषये तुलसीसाहित्यस्य महत्त्वविषये च पाण्डित्यपूर्णं प्रवचनं कृतम् । तेन काशिनरेशं डा० विभूति नारायणसिंहं प्रत्यपि कृतज्ञता ज्ञापिता यस्य संरक्षणे अस्य उत्सवस्यायोजनं भवति । न्यासस्य मन्त्रिणा श्रीयोगेन्द्रनारायण ठाकुर महोदयेन धन्यवादः प्रकाशितः । अन्ते प्रसादवितरणं जातम् ।

A similar competition was organized also at Maharaj Balwant Singh Mahāvidyālaya Gangapur under the presidentship of His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh on 20th Oct., 1976. In this competition students of different colleges took part.

The Manasa Prachara Nidhi organizes two essay competitions for Graduate and Post Graduate students and for the Vyasas of Mānasa. The subject of the essays is declared on Mārgaśīrṣa Śukla Pañcamī and awards are distributed on Vaiśākha Kṛṣṇa Ṣaṣṭhī. The subject this year was 'Bharat Caritra'. The first prize was obtained by Shri Rakesh Kumar Diksit, B.A. Second year, Samdhya Mahavidyalaya, Kamaccha and Shri Dinanatha Upadhyaya, B.A. Second year, Kashinaresh Rajakiya Mahavidyalaya, Gyanpur. The judges were Shri Laksmi Sankar Vyasa and Shri Vishwanath Shastri Datar.

MAHARAJA PRABHU NARAIN SINGH PHYSICAL CULTURAL TRUST

On the occasion of the birth day ceremony of the Maharaja Kumar Shri Anant Narain Singh, sports of the boys of the local schools were organised in grounds adjacent to the Fort on 25th and 26th Nov., 1976. Almost all local Junior and primary schools took part in the sports. The students of the Vidyāmandir Pāṭhaśālā also participated in all the sports. The professors and Principal of the Maharaja Balwant Singh Degree College were of great help to judge the results.

MAHARAJA BANARAS VIDYAMANDIR TRUST

Vedic Balaka Vasanta Pūjā

On the same occasion, the Vedic Balaka Vasanta Pūjā was performed by sixteen Vedic students under 15 years of age from Vārāṇasī. They orally recited the Vedic mantras in the Devi temple of the Ramnagar Fort in the morning with due ceremonial rites. Dakṣiṇā was given to them after the Pūjā and the children were fed.

Painting Competition

A painting competition was organized on 27th Nov., 1976 for the children of the local schools and the Vidyāmandir Pāṭhaśālā. About 300 children took part in this competition.

Bāla-śāstrārtha

Under the auspices of this Trust a Bāla-śāstrārtha on Nyāya was organized on 28th Nov. under the supervision of Pt. Rajeshwar

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२० अक्टूबर १९७६ दिनाङ्के एतादृश्येव प्रतियोगिता गङ्गापुरस्थे महाराज बलवन्तसिंह महाविद्यालये आयोजिता जाता । अस्यां प्रतियोगितायां अनेकेषां विद्यालयानां छात्राः सम्मिलिता बभूवुः ।

एष न्यासः स्नातक-स्नातकोत्तरछात्राणां कृते तथा रामचरित-मानसस्य कथावाचकानां च कृते द्वयोर्निबन्धप्रतियोगितयोरायोजनं करोति । निबन्धस्य विषयस्य घोषणा माघशीर्षशुक्लपञ्चम्यां भवति पुरस्कारश्च वेशाखकृष्णषष्ठ्यां वितरितो भवति । गते वर्षे स्नातक-स्नातकोत्तरछात्राणां विषय आसीत्—भरतचरित्रम् । प्रथमपुरस्कारः काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य सान्ध्यमहाविद्यालयस्य वी० ए० (द्वितीयभाग) छात्रेण श्रीराकेशकुमार-दीक्षितेन तथा ज्ञानपुरस्थस्य काशिनरेशमहाविद्यालयस्य वी० ए० (द्वितीय-भाग) छात्रेण श्री दिनेशउपाध्यायेन प्राप्तः ।

महाराज प्रभुनारायणसिंह फिजिकल कल्चरल न्यासः

चिरंजीविमहाराजकुमार श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंहस्य जन्मोत्सवावसरे २५, २६ नवम्बर १९७६ दिनाङ्कयो रामनगरदुर्गस्य परिसरे खन्दक नामके स्थाने स्थानिकपाठशालीयछात्राणां क्रीडायाः आयोजनं सम्पन्नम् । क्रीडायां प्रायशः स्थानिकाः सर्वे माध्यमिकाः प्राथमिकाश्च विद्यालयाः सम्मिलिता आसन् । विद्यामन्दिरपाठशालायाः छात्रा अपि सर्वासु क्रीडासु सम्मिलिता बभूवुः । महाराजबलवन्तसिंहमहाविद्यालयस्य प्रधानाचार्यः अध्यापकाश्च कार्यक्रमस्य संचालने प्रशंसनीयं साहाय्यं कृतवन्तः ।

महाराजबनारसविद्यामन्दिरन्यासः

वैदिकबालक वसन्तपूजा

महाराजकुमारस्य जन्मोत्सवावसरे वाराणस्या ऊनपञ्चदशवर्षीया षोडश वैदिकबालका वसन्तपूजां कृतवन्तः । ते प्रातःकाले दुर्गस्थे देवीमन्दिरे विधिपूर्वकं वैदिकमन्त्राणां पाठमकुर्वन् । पूजासमाप्तौ तेभ्यो दक्षिणा दापिताः ।

चित्रकला प्रतियोगिता

स्थानिक पाठशालीयछात्राणां कृते विद्यामन्दिर पाठशालायाश्छात्राणां कृते च २७ नवम्बर १९७६ दिनाङ्के चित्रकलाप्रतियोगिताया आयोजन-मासीत् । अस्यां प्रतियोगितायां प्रायेण त्रिशतसंख्याकाश्छात्राः सम्मिलिता आसन् ।

बालशास्त्रार्थः

अस्य न्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने पण्डितराजश्रीराजेश्वरशास्त्रिद्रविड-महोदयस्य निर्देशने २८ नवम्बर १९७६ दिनाङ्के न्यायविषये बाल-

Shastri Dravid, in which the students of the Vidyāmandir Pāṭhaśālā and Udyana Pāṭhaśālā participated. Maharaja Kumar Shri Anant Narain Singh also participated in the Śāstrārtha. The prizes in cash and books amounting at Rs. 1000 were given to those who took part in the Śāstrārtha. The Nyāya Scholars Śrī Surendra Nath Shastri and Śrī Vishvanath Shastri Datar of the Sampūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya and Pt. Kirtyanand Jha of the Nyāya Deptt. of B.H.U. were the judges.

Distinguished Mathematicians visit the Museum

On 29th Dec. a group of about 250 foreign and Indian Mathematicians, who attended the International Symposium in Mathematics in Benares Hindu University, visited the Museum. A tea-party was arranged in their honour. The Scholars were impressed by the collections of the Museum.

KASHINARESH MAHARANI DHARMAKARYA NIDHI

Bāla Melā

A Bāla Melā including the baby show was arranged by this Trust on 27th Nov., 1976. Sweets were distributed to the children of the local educational institutions and also to the other children of Ramnagar and neighbouring villages. Clothes were also distributed to the poor children of Ramnagar under three years of age on the same day in the afternoon.

MAHARAJA KASHIRAJ DHARMAKARYA NIDHI

The Trust gives donations to several religious and cultural institutions such as the Vishwa Hindu-Sammelan, Gīrvāṇa-Vāgvardhini-sabhā of Varanasi. The Trust gives medals and prizes in the Benares Hindu University, Sampūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya and various Colleges.

The Trust is also running the following educational institutions:

1. Maharani Ramratna Kunvari Sanskrit

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This Pāṭhaśālā was established in 1923 A.D. to impart Sanskrit education. The Pāṭhaśālā is now teaching upto the Uttara Madhyamā examination of the Sanskrit University, Vārāṇasī.

2. Maharaja Balwant Singh Degree College, Gangapur

This college was established in July, 1972 at Gangapur (Dist. Vārāṇasī), the birth place of Late Maharaja Balwant Singh, founder of the Kashirajya at Ramnagar. The College imparts education in Arts upto the Degree examinations of the Gorakhpur University

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शास्त्रार्थः संपन्नो जातः यस्मिन् विद्यामन्दिरपाठशालायाः उद्यानपाठ-
शालायाश्च छात्राः सम्मिलिता बभूवुः । महाराजकुमारः श्री अनन्तनारायण-
सिंहोऽपि शास्त्रार्थमकरोत् । शास्त्रार्थे ये छात्राः सम्मिलितास्तेभ्यो १०००)
रूप्यकाणि पुरस्काररूपेण प्रदत्तानि । सम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य
प्राध्यापकौ—श्री सुरेन्द्रनाथशास्त्री विश्वनाथशास्त्री दातारश्च तथा हिन्दु-
विश्वविद्यालयस्य न्यायाध्यापकः श्री कीर्त्यानन्दभामहाशयः निर्णायका
आसन् ।

विशिष्टा गणितज्ञाः संग्रहालयं दृष्टवन्तः

२९ दिसम्बर १९७६ दिनाङ्के अपराह्णे प्रायः २५० वैदेशिका
भारतीयाश्च गणितज्ञा ये काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालये सम्पन्ने गणित-
सम्मेलने समाविष्टा आसन् संग्रहालयं दृष्टवन्तः संग्रहालयं दृष्ट्वा प्रभा-
विताश्चासन् । तेषां सम्माने अल्पाहरस्य व्यवस्था कृता आसीत् ।

काशीनरेश महारानी धर्मकार्यनिधिः

२७ नवम्बर दिनाङ्के बालमेलाया बालप्रदर्शनस्य च आयोजनं
कृतम् । रथानिकविद्यालयानां छात्रेभ्यो रामनगरीयेभ्यस्तत्समीपवर्ति-
भ्योऽप्येभ्य बालेभ्यश्च मिष्ठानानि प्रदत्तानि । तस्मिन्नेव दिने अपराह्णे
ऊनत्रिवाषिकेभ्यो रामनगरीयनिर्धनबालकेभ्यो वस्त्राण्यपि प्रदत्तानि ।

महाराज काशीराजधर्मकार्यनिधिः

अनेन न्यासेन अनेकाभ्यो धार्मिकसांस्कृतिकसंस्थाभ्यः—यथा विश्व-
हिन्दुधर्मसम्मेलनम्, गीर्वाणवाग्धिनोसभा, प्रभृतिभ्यः—साहाय्यं प्रदीयते ।
विश्वविद्यालयेषु विद्यालयेषु च पदकानि पुरस्काराश्च अनेन न्यासेन प्रदीयन्ते ।

अनेन न्यासेन अधोनिर्दिष्टानां संस्थानां सञ्चालनमपि क्रियते—

१. महारानी रामरत्नकुँवरिसंस्कृतपाठशाला, रामनगर

संस्कृतशिक्षाप्रदानार्थमेवा पाठशाला ईसवीये १९२३ वर्षे स्थापिता
आसीत् । संप्रति पाठशालैषा वाराणसेय संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य उत्तर-
मध्यमापरीक्षा पर्यन्तं शिक्षाप्रदानं करोति ।

२. महाराजबलवन्तसिंह महाविद्यालय, गङ्गापुर

एष महाविद्यालयः १९७२ ईसवीये वर्षे वाराणसीजनपदस्थिते
गङ्गापुरनामके नगरे (काशिराज्यस्य संस्थापकस्य श्रीबलवन्तसिंहस्य जन्म-
स्थाने) स्थापितः । अस्मिन् महाविद्यालये गोरखपुरविश्वविद्यालयस्य

in Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, English, Economics, Political Science, History, Psychology, Sociology, Education, Geography and Indian Culture. In 1976-77 Session 70 students are admitted in B.A. Part one and 36 students are in B.A. Part two. This college has been recognized by the U. P. Government.

3. Raja Manasā Ram Law College, Raja Talab

This college was established in Nov. 1973 at Raja Talab, which place is at a distance of about 15 km. from Vārāṇasī. It is affiliated to the Gorakhpur University. This college works in the morning from 7 to 10 A.M. In 1976-77 session 130 students are admitted in LL. B. Part one, 14 in Part II and 8 in Part III.

“Hindutva” Magazine

The monthly Magazine “Hindutva” is published in English under the auspices of the Viswa Hindu Dharma Sammelan. The object of this publication is to disseminate Hindu Culture. The Dharma Karya Nidhi gives an annual aid of Rs. 4000/-towards the publication of this magazine. This journal has published a special issue on the occasion of *Kumbha*.

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स्नातककक्षानां हिन्दी, संस्कृत, उर्दू, आँग्लभाषा-अर्थशास्त्र-राजनीतिशास्त्र-इतिहास-मनोविज्ञान-समाजशास्त्र-शिक्षा-भूगोल-भारतीय संस्कृति विषयेषु अध्यापनं भवति । अस्मिन् १९७६-७७ वर्षे बी० ए० प्रथमभाग कक्षायां ७० छात्राः, बी० ए० द्वितीयभाग कक्षायां च ३६ छात्राः अध्ययनं कुर्वन्ति । एष विद्यालयः उत्तरप्रदेश शासनेन मान्यतां प्रापितः ।

३. मनसारासविधिविद्यालय, राजातालाब

एष महाविद्यालयः वाराणसीनगरतः प्रायेण १५ कि० मी०, दूरस्थिते राजातालवनामके स्थाने ईसवीये १९७३ वर्षे स्थापितः । गोरखपुर विश्व-विद्यालयेन सम्बद्धे अस्मिन् महाविद्यालये प्रातःकाले ७ वादनतः १० वादन-कालं यावद् अध्यापनं भवति । १९७६-७७ वर्षे एल-एल० बी० प्रथम-भाग कक्षायां १३० छात्राः, द्वितीयभागकक्षायां १४ छात्राः, तृतीयभाग कक्षायां च ८ छात्राः अध्ययनं कुर्वन्ति ।

‘हिन्दुत्व’ पत्रिका

‘हिन्दुत्व’ नाम्नो मासिकी पत्रिका आङ्ग्लभाषायां विश्वहिन्दुधर्म सम्मेलनस्य संचालने प्रचलति । अस्याः पत्रिकायाः उद्देश्यं हिन्दुसंस्कृतेः प्रचारोवर्तते । अस्याः पत्रिकायाः प्रकाशननिमित्तं काशिराजधर्मकार्यनिधिः ४०००) रूप्यकाणां वार्षिकीं सहायतां प्रददाति । अस्याः पत्रिकायाः कुम्भासरे एको विशेषाङ्कः प्रकाशितो वर्तते ।

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[July, 1977

पुराणम्
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(Half-yearly Bulletin of the Purāṇa-Department)

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आत्मा पुराणं वेदानाम्

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लेखकमहोदयैः प्रकटीकृता विचारास्तेषामेव स्वायत्ताः,

न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् न्यासं च निबध्नन्ति

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पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

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व्यास-प्रशस्तिः

(Glorification of Vyāsa)

वाग्विस्तरा यस्य बृहत्तरङ्गा
वेलातटं वस्तुनि तत्त्वबोधः ।
रत्नानि तर्कप्रसरप्रकाराः
पुनात्वसौ व्यासपयोनिधिर्माम् ॥१॥

श्रीमद्व्यासपयोनिधिर्निधिरसौ सत्सूक्तिपङ्क्तिस्फुरन्-
मुक्तानामनवद्यद्दृष्टविपुलप्रद्योतिविद्यामणिः ।
क्षान्तिः शान्तिधृती दयेति सरितामेकान्तविश्रान्तिभू-
भयान् नः सततं मुनीन्द्रमकरश्रेणिश्रयः श्रेयसे ॥२॥

जिगाय देवानपि यः स्वतेजसा
विवेद च व्यास च वेदसागरम् ।
परावरजः स पराशरात्मजो
मया महात्मा प्रणिपत्यते मुनिः ॥३॥

1. From *Varāha-P.*, MS, D. 10130, deposited in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore. The Grantha MS. from Trivandrum (Kerala) also gives this śloka with some variants.
2. From *Nyāya-nirṇaya-vyākhyā* of Ānanda-giri.
3. From *Jaiminiya Śrauta-sūtra-bhāṣya*, G. O. MSS. Library, Madras, R. N. 5507.
- 2, 3 taken from श्रीव्यासप्रशस्तयः compiled by Dr. V. Raghavan.

धरणीकृता जनार्दनस्तुतिः

(Varāha-Purāṇa, Cri. Edn., 1. 20-28)

धरण्युवाच

नमः कमलपत्राक्ष नमस्ते पीतवाससे ।
 नमः सुरारिविध्वंसकारिणे परमात्मने ॥२०॥
 शेषपर्यङ्कशयने धृतवक्षस्थलश्रिये ।
 नमस्ते सर्वदेवेश नमस्ते मोक्षकारिणे ॥२१॥
 नमः शाङ्गसिचक्राय जन्ममृत्युविर्वाजिते ।
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 नमो विद्रुमरक्तास्यपाणिपल्लवशोभिने ।
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 दृष्ट्वा भीताऽस्मि भूयोऽपि जगत् त्वद्देहगोचरम् ।
 इदानीं कुरु मे नाथ दयां त्राहि महाभयात् ॥२४॥
 केशवः पातु मे पादौ जङ्घे नारायणो मम ।
 माधवो मे कटिं पातु गोविन्दो गुह्यमेव च ॥२५॥
 नाभिं विष्णुस्तु मे पातु उदरं मधुसूदनः ।
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 एवं न्यस्य हरेर्न्यासनामानि जगती तदा ।
 नमस्ते भगवन् विष्णो इत्युक्त्वा विरराम ह ॥२८॥

Important Variants

[Manuscripts collated 19 :—Devanāgarī 12, Bengali 3, Nandināgarī 1, Telugu 1, Grantha 1, Malayalam 1.]

Number of MSS. having the variant is given within brackets.]

20. -a) कमलनेत्राय for कमलपत्राक्ष; (2).
 21. -b) स्थित-for धृत-; (2 B.Mss.), -c) देवात्मन् for देवेश; (1)

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धरणीकृता जनादेनस्तुतिः

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22. -a) नमस्ते शार्ङ्गचक्राय; (2 B. Mss.). -b) -विवर्जित for -विवर्जिते; (3)
23. -a) विद्रुमरक्तौष्ठ (4), विद्रुमरक्ताभ- (2), विद्रुमरक्ताय (2), विद्रुम-
वक्त्राय (2)
24. -a) नीलाञ्जनचयाकारं (2). -d) जगत्संदेहसञ्चरे (2 B Mss.),
-त्वद्देहगह्वरे (2). -f) महाप्रभो for महाभयात्; (1)
26. -b) जठरं for उदरं; (3). -c) ऊरू (2), उरस् (6), (for ऊरुं).
27. -c) जघने for नगने; (1)
28. -a) न्यासं (6); मन्त्र- (2, B. Mss); मास - (1, Tanjore Ms.,
D. 10130).

NOTE ON THE STUTI

When Lord Varāha rescued the Earth from the Rasātala she implored Him to tell her how He creates, upholds and nourishes this creation, and how there is the beginning and the end of the creation. Varāha laughed at this, and the Earth (goddess Earth) saw the whole creation in his belly, including the gods, Rūdra-s, Vasu-s, Siddha-s, sages, the moon, the sun and the other planets and all the seven Loka-s or worlds. The Earth was much terrified at this sight and began to tremble. Then she instantly saw the Lord sleeping on the couch of Śeṣa-nāga in the primordial ocean with Brahmā in the Lotus growing from His (Viṣṇu's) navel. (Var. P., 1. 12-19).

The Earth, being already terrified by seeing the dark Varāha form of Viṣṇu with the whole universe in His belly, eulogises Him and implores Him to protect her from this great fear (Śl. 23-24).

The *stuti* thus consists of two parts, viz : (1) eulogy of god Viṣṇu or Janārdana as Varāha (Śl. 20-23) and (2) a kind of *nyāsa* for protecting her limbs from the injury which might have been caused by this frightful sight (Śl. 24-28).

1. *Stuti* (Śl. 20-24)

The Earth eulogises—

I bow to the lotus-eyed God, to the God who is clad in yellow garments. I bow to the great God who destroys the enemies of gods.—(20). I bow to Thee, O Lord of all the gods, who sleeps on the couch of Śeṣa, who upholds goddess Lakṣmī on his bosom, and who is the bestower of salvation.—(21). I bow to the Lord holding the Śārṅga bow, the sword and the discus, who is free from birth and death. I bow to Him who has given birth to Brahmā residing in the great lotus produced from the navel (of Viṣṇu).—(22). Obeisance to Him who is adorned with the coral-coloured reddish mouth (i. e. lips) and sprout-like hands. I approach to Thee as my shelter; protect me, the innocent woman.—(23). Seeing Thy Varāha-form, dark like black antimony, O Janārdana, and the whole world in Thy body I am frightened. Now, have mercy on me, O Lord, and protect me from this great fright.—(24).

[JULY, 1977]

धरणीकृता जनार्दनस्तुतिः

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2. *Nyāsa* (Śl. 25-28)

In the Hindu religious literature *nyāsa* is a technical term and is generally used in the sense of assigning different limbs of the body to different deities or to the various names of the same deity for the purpose of their protection by those deities or names of the deity being eulogised or worshipped, or for the purpose of identifying the limbs with the different names or aspects of the deity in order to become one with the deity at the time of prayer or worship.

There are several kinds of *nyāsa*, such as *aṅga-nyāsa*, *kara-nyāsa*, *diṅ-nyāsa* etc. which are to be performed according to the Śāstric rules in order to identify himself (the worshipper) with the *mantra* or the deity. But when a *nyāsa* is uttered by a worshipper or devotee for securing protection of his various limbs from the deity, assigning these limbs to the different names of the deity, then the *nyāsa* becomes a kind of *kavaca*. Here, in the *stuti* the *nyāsa* uttered by goddess Earth may be said to be a kind of mini-*Kavaca* uttered by goddess Earth for the protection of her limbs.

Here, goddess Earth prays Viṣṇu-Varāha to protect her twelve limbs which she assigns for their protection to the twelve names of Lord Viṣṇu :

- May Keśava protect my feet !
- May Nārāyaṇa protect my shanks !
- May Mādhava protect my private parts !
- May Viṣṇu protect my navel !
- May Madhusūdana protect my abdomen !
- May Trivikrama protect my thighs !
- May Vāmana protect my heart !
- May Śrīdhara protect my throat !
- May Hṛśīkeśa protect my mouth !
- May Padmanābha protect my eyes !
- May Dāmodara protect my head !

Thus, this *nyāsa* associates the twelve names of Viṣṇu with the twelve limbs of the body.

In this connection the *Bhāg.-P.*, X. 6. 20 may be compared, according to which the Gopī-s, Yaśodā and Rohiṇī jointly created protection in the twelve limbs of child Kṛṣṇa when he had killed Pūtana. They smeared his twelve limbs with the cow-dung in

order to protect them with the twelve names of Viṣṇu :

गोमूत्रेण स्नापयित्वा पुनर्गोरजसाऽर्भकम् ।
रक्षां चक्रुश्च शकृता द्वादशाङ्गेषु नामभिः ॥

Śrīdhara comments on “द्वादशाङ्गेषु नामभिः” as “द्वादशाङ्गेषु ललाटादिषु केशवादिद्वादशनामभिः”. The *Ācāra-mayūkha* of Nilakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa has given the names of the ललाटादि twelve limbs as associated with केशवादि twelve names of Viṣṇu in the context of enjoining *tilaka* on the forehead at the time of performing the *sandhyā* :

तिलकं प्रक्रम्य स्मृतिचन्द्रिकायां ब्रह्माण्डे—
ललाटे केशवं विद्यान्नारायणमथोदरे ।
माधवं हृदि विन्यस्य गोविन्दं कण्ठकूपके ॥
उदरे दक्षिणे पार्श्वे विष्णुरित्यभिधीयते ।
तत्पार्श्वे बाहुमध्ये तु विन्यसेन्मधुसूदनम् ॥
त्रिविक्रमं कर्णदेशे वामकुक्षौ तु वामनम् ।
श्रीधरं बाहुके वामे हृषीकेशं तु दक्षिणे ॥
पृष्ठदेशे पद्मनाभं ककुद् दामोदरं स्मरेत् ।
द्वादशैवेति नामानि वासुदेवेति भूर्धनि ॥

The order of the twelve limbs given by Śrīdhara and the *Ācāra-mayūkha*, beginning from *lalāṭa* (forehead) is different from that given in the *Varāha-P.*, which is from the feet to the head, but the twelve names of Viṣṇu are the same and also in the same order in both the places and the *Varāha P.*

The Tanjore MS. (D. 10130) and the Grantha MS. both read ‘मास-नामानि’¹ for ‘न्यास-नामानि’ in śl. 28 of this *stuti* of the *Varāha-P.*, which is also a good reading, though all the other MSS. read न्यास (or न्यासं, v. l. in several MSS.)-नामानि.

—Anand Swarup Gupta

1. For Viṣṇu’s twelve names as the names of the twelve months see my note published elsewhere in this issue of the *Purāṇa*.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SYMBOLS AND MYTHS IN THE COSMOGONIES OF MAHĀPURĀṆA

BY

CATERINA CONIO

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुष्या लेखिकया महापुराणेषूपलब्धस्य सृष्टि-
विद्यावर्णनस्य तत्सम्बद्धप्रतीकानामाख्यानानाञ्च साङ्गोपाङ्गं विवेचनं
कृतम् । सृष्टिवर्णनप्रसङ्गे विधिधाख्यानानि प्रतीकशब्दाश्चोपलभ्यन्ते ।
तेषां व्याख्यानं भारतीयविद्वद्भिः पाश्चात्यविद्वद्भिश्च नानाप्रकारेण
कृतम् । अत्र लेखिकयाऽपि तेषामाख्यानानां प्रतीकशब्दानां च यथामति
प्रमाणपुरस्सरं व्याख्यानं कृतम् । अण्डं तु जगतः प्रतिरूपं, विधातु-
निवासस्थलं, उर्वरतायाः प्रतीकं चास्ति । इत्थं मेरुरपि विश्वस्य
मध्यभूमिः पृथिवीस्वर्गयोः सम्बन्धस्थलः स्तम्भरूपश्चास्ति । कूर्मस्य
मत्स्यस्यापि अन्तर्निहिता रहस्यात्मिका व्याख्याऽत्र वर्तते । लेखिकया
इतरेषामपि अनेका प्रतीकशब्दानां व्याख्या प्रस्तुता ।]

The problem of the origin of the cosmos and man has always been one of the most important for philosophical and religious thinking : this problem is, in fact, metaphysical and theological, for it concerns the search of the *ultimate ground* of reality and the relationship between God and human beings. Such an important problem is to be found, not only in philosophical treatises, but first of all in the sacred texts of Revelation and Tradition belonging to the highest cultures of mankind.

In *Mahāpurāṇa*, as is well known, the doctrines regarding creation (I take this term in its broader meaning) are often clothed in mythological tales, or hidden, so to say, in *symbols* which not only denote deep intuitions of mind, but are able to suggest fresh ideas and so are liable to be reinterpreted again and again, as is shown by the most recent attempts of eastern and western scholars. Let us recall, in this connection, some to whom I am indebted for my studies; first of all, Prof. Paul Hacker and his disciple Prof. K. Rueping who have succeeded in finding out new methods to establish the chronological history of the texts, giving reasons for the changes and the variations in several portions of

*Purāṇa*¹. Highly valuable are also the articles of Prof. Miss Madeleine Biardeau regarding some selected Purāṇic cosmogonies illustrated with a structural methodology, in a synchronic way, irrespective of the diachronical evolution of myths² in the manner, as she herself says, of C. Levi-Strauss.

What we are now trying to do, in the present article, is a speculative approach to the accounts of creation in *Mahāpurāṇa*, in order to analyse the relationship between *symbols* and *myths* considering both of them from the point of view of *philosophical intuition* and *artistical mediation*. Symbols and myths, in fact, being inspired by religious and poetical imagination—here the term imagination is equated to that of intuition—are apt to operate a mediation, to establish a link between the creative faculty of the mind and conceptual thinking.

In the Purāṇic portions relative to creation there are, of course, also philosophical ideas at a certain level of elaboration taken either from Sāṃkhya or from Vedānta schools of thought, but it seems that the authors of the Purāṇic texts were concerned more with a religious approach than with problems of reasoning regarding cosmogonic theories. It has in fact to be remembered that the first two lakṣaṇa of the Purāṇa (sarga and pratisarga)—which are, no doubt, the most ancient and most important parts of these texts³—were meant for meditative purposes and therefore were to be read, or heard, with a devotional attitude and a contemplative mind.⁴ And we think that even now, while examining these precious books, one has to be careful in dealing with such an important subject as that of creation, which constitutes the central point of the highest human speculation.

1. See, for instance the methodological article of P. Hacker : "Zur Methode der geschichtlichen Erforschung, der anonymen Sanskrit Literatur des Hinduismus," in *Zeitschrift der Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, 1961, Band 111, pp. 483-492.
2. See "Cosmogonies Hindous" in *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extreme Orient*, vol. LIV (1968) pp. 19-45; Vol. LV (1969) pp. 59-105; Vol. LVIII (1971) pp. 17-89.
3. Let us quote, in this connection, the master piece of W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1927, which is still an indispensable reference book to establish the history of the oldest Purāṇa.
4. We recall one verse of Bhāgavatapurāṇa (II, 9, 31) stating how man has to think of creation : *tata ātmani loke ca bhakty-uktaḥ samāhitaḥ/draṣṭā'si māṇ tataṁ brahma mayi lokāṁstvāmātmanāḥ*.

Cosmogonical narrations and avatāric myths⁵⁾ are scattered in various chapters of *Mahāpurāṇa*, so that it is not easy to find a leading thread⁶⁾ connecting philosophical doctrines, legends and descriptive images and to relate them to the central point of our inquiry. We have, anyhow, decided here to give priority to *symbols*, for we have found, as we have said, that they can be considered as a very relevant subject of analysis, since they are cardinal centers of reference for many basic concepts. Therefore, first of all, we have to examine those symbols which respond to the most general intuitions and reflect ideas of the widest interest, deriving from very ancient cultures, spread on a vast area.

The cosmic egg.

Let us first consider that great and almost universal symbol which is the cosmic egg⁷⁾. If we pay attention to the various accounts in which the *aṇḍa* plays a role, starting from the oldest one, in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI, 1, 6), up to *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* (III, 19, 1) and to Purāṇic cosmogonies⁸⁾, we notice that the cosmic egg may be regarded as an image of the whole universe in its entirety, as well as in its evolutionary aspect as it is said in the

5. The doctrine of avatāra was, at least originally, strictly bound to that of creation, or recreation as a famous Purāṇic verse shows with regard to the first three theriomorphic "incarnations": *akarot as tanum anyāṃ kalpādiṣu yathā purā matsya-kūrmādikāṃ tadvad varāhaṃ vapur āsthitaḥ*. (*Viṣṇupurāṇa* I, 4, 8) Cf. Kirfel, op. cit., p. 16, v. 7.
6. One could find, of course, more than one leading thread, or 'ca' to choose some group of texts having a determinate affinity or to select some themes or even some particular words, and make a structural or semantic analysis of them.
7. One can find this symbol in many ancient cultures. See, for instance, the orphic Characters (O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragments* 60, 64 and 79-81), and Aristophanes, *Birds*, 690 ff. As for Iran and Slavic civilizations we may quote the article, in Italian, Zur e Azur" in: *Annali della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature straniere di Ca' Foscari* IX, 3, 1970, pp. 50-62 (Venice). Even in Egypt and in China occurs the symbol of the cosmic egg: see S. Morenz "Aegypten und die altorphanische Theogonie" in: *Antike und Orient, Festschrift W. Schubart*, 1960, pp. 64-111. Cf. also, in Chinese Philosophy, A. Forke, *Die Gedankenwelt des Chinesischen Kulturkreises* Muenchen und Berlin, 1927. p. 90.
8. See *Agnipurāṇa* XVII, 6 ff; *Brahmapurāṇa* I, 37 ff; *Śivapurāṇa* (*Dharmasamhitā*) LI, 10 ff; *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* I, 2, 13 ff. Cf. *Manusmṛiti* I, 8 ff. and *Harivaṃśa* I, 15 ff. See also the article of P. Hacker "Two Accounts of Cosmogony" in *Jñānamuktāvali Commemoration Volume*, Delhi, 1959.

above mentioned texts for the egg splits into two parts and gives rise to the cosmos.

The egg in itself is also a symbol of fertility, but in the Purāṇic accounts it is taken into consideration more because of its shape and its composition. There is, in fact, a group of texts⁹ in which the egg is said to be made out of the cosmic elements and to be the natural abode of God: *prākṛtaṁ brahmarūpasya Viṣṇoḥ saṁsthānam uttamam*, a verse occurring in *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (I, 2, 55) and similar to another occurring also in both editions of *Padmapurāṇa*: *tatrāvvyaktasvarūpo' sau vyaktarūpī Janārdanaḥ/brahmā brahmasvarūpeṇa svayam eva vyavasthitaḥ* I, 2, 106b-107a (Śrī Veṅkateśvara Press edition) and V, 2, 104b-105a (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series ed.).

At this point, we have to remark that these meanings of the cosmic egg may be linked to one another in so far as this symbol, although included in different cosmogonies, preserves its *primary fundamental significance* and shows a sort of primacy with respect to the myths or accounts in which it is included. The symbol of the *aṇḍa* was, in fact, adapted to various accounts as if it were *attracting around itself* old legends as well as fresh philosophical ideas. That is why we find the cosmic egg having a golden colour, like the golden germ, the sun and the fire¹⁰): *hiranyavarṇam abhavat tad aṇḍam udake śayam*... The *aṇḍa*, lying on the cosmic ocean, is also related to the waters which are a symbol of fertility.

But, as we have seen above, the egg is made of the natural elements, with various enveloping *strata* similar to those of a coconut: *ebhir āvaraṇaiḥ sarvaiḥ sarvabhūtaiś ca saṁyutam/Nārikelaphalasyāntarbijam* (*Padmapurāṇa* I, 2, 111 or V, 2, 109-110a) an image reminding us also of the *kośa* of the *Taittirīya-upaniṣad*¹² although the latter presents an older view of the layers of reality.

In other passages, it is said that the womb of the cosmic *aṇḍa* were the continents, the seas and mountains, the planets, the divisions of the universe, the gods, the demons and mankind.¹³

9. *Viṣṇupurāṇa* I, 2, 50-66; *Padmapurāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series) I, 2, 26-31; *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* XIV, 62-65; *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa* I, 3, 28-33; *Vāyupurāṇa* IV, 75-85; *Līṅgapurāṇa* LXX, 53-63; *Kūrmapurāṇa* IV, 35-42. See also Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, p. 9, v. 21 ff. and p. 51, vv. 56-63, and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* III, 20, 13-16.
10. Cf. F. D. K. Bosch, *The Golden Germ*, Mouton, 1950, p. 54 ff.
12. See Brahmānandavallī.
13. See Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, cit. p. 10, vv. 25-26 and p. 52, vv. 60-61.

Thus, it may be seen that the egg is the image of the world, the entire universe, in which abides God, in His demiurgic aspect, or in which Brahmā is said to be born.

In *Markaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (XLV, 68-70) it is also narrated how the egg was enveloped by water, air, ether and the evolving *Ahaṁkāra* and then surrounded by *Mahat* and by *Avyakta* and how all these coverings formed from Prakṛti, enveloping one another, constituted the eight Prakṛtis. And it is added that the *Puruṣa* is limited by Prakṛti; which seems in contrast with what was affirmed in the other passages quoted above.

Shall we then conclude that the symbol of the egg is used in an indiscriminate manner, whenever and wherever it may be useful to illustrate an idea? No doubt a symbol can be employed as a simile for the purpose of clarification in different contexts, but in cosmogonic accounts the egg maintains a unitary meaning, although it presents itself under different angles. Its oval shape denotes a totality encircling the whole created or developed world; beyond the limit of the shell, there is the infinite God, from Whom everything comes. And if God is said to be within the *aṇḍa*, by way of immanence, that means that He is regarded as a creating power, *personified* either in *Prajāpati* or in *Brahmā*.

It has been pointed out by various authors that Purāṇic cosmogonies show an intermingling of Vedic and Sāṁkhya trends, and here we have seen that the *figure* of the cosmic egg is used in cosmogonies derived from Vedic tradition, like that of the *Hiraṇyagarbha*, as well as in those of Sāṁkhya origin, in which it is spoken of Prakṛti, *Avyakta* and of the evolution of the world through the action of *Puruṣa* or *Brahmā*. And it is to be noted that the *Puruṣa* governs the world, or enters into creation in the form of *Brahmā* abiding within the egg made up by the Great Principle (*Mahat*) and the rest. Even if we assume that impersonalistic or mechanistic cosmogonies or a sort of sāṁkhyazation of emanationistic theories,¹⁴ have been incorporated in Purāṇic

14. See Paul Hacker "The Sāṁkhyazation of the Emanation Doctrines" in: *Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde Sud und Ostasiens*, Band V, 1961, pp. 75-115. In *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (III, 20, 12 ff.) a Sāṁkhya cosmogony is combined with that of the golden egg and that of the lotus issuing from the navel of the Lord.

accounts it is a fact that the cosmic egg formed by the elements is an *equivalent* of the egg born out of the golden germ. In this way, we do note the persisting fundamental meaning of the symbol even within contexts of different origin or often having undergone successive stages of elaboration. That is why symbols are, in a way, clearer than doctrines, and more immediate than mythological tales, or, as is our case, why they may constitute even a connecting *link* between different relations, although only an ideal one as if it had an independent and stronger evoking force.

The Mount Meru and its cosmic-philosophical significance.

The womb of the cosmic egg is compared to Mount Meru which is of a very great relevance from the cosmographic point of view and plays also a role in the legend of the churning of the ocean, as we shall see later on.¹⁵

The great cosmic mountain has been compared also, by various authors, to the *axis mundi* and to the Vedic image of the *stambha*,¹⁶ symbolising the column of the universe, support of the three worlds.

Actually Mount Meru assumes its importance as the *center* of the world, the *abode* of God,¹⁷ and is described as having golden colour¹⁸ like the cosmic egg or enriched with precious stones¹⁹, brilliant with divine magnificence. This sacred mountain, situated in the very middle of the great cosmic maṇḍala, represents the fixed dwelling place of Brahmā Lokapāla, and of other various gods, whose function is that of creating and protecting the worlds.

15. On this subject we may quote the article of V. M. Bedekar, "The legend of the churning of the ocean in the Epics and the Purāṇas," in : *Purāṇa Bulletin*, All India Kashirāj Trust, January 1967, pp. 7-61 and the Dissertation of K. Rueping, *Amṛta-manthana und Kūrmāvatāra*, Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz, 1970.

16. See F. D. K. Bosch, Op. cit., p. 95.

17. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, II, 2, 31; *Agnipurāṇa*, 108, 18; *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* LIV, 18. Cf. *Mahābhārata* (critical edition) VI, 7, 7ff. See, on this subject, the important work of W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn, 1920. Einleitung, p. 15 and p. 93.

18. *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II, 2, 14; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* V, 16, 7; *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* LIV, 15; *Līṅgapurāṇa* XLVIII, 4.

19. *Līṅgapurāṇa* XLVIII, 1 and 8.

Its very shape, partly above and partly beneath the earth, recalls that of a pillar, although the mountain is variously described as for instance the seed cup of a lotus. And it is not only a receptacle of all beatitude and splendour but also a veritable *link between heaven and earth*, for it belongs to God and celestial beings, as well as the world. In fact it is the center and the pivot of the world. Mount Meru reflects, evidently, a philosophical intuition which can be expressed by the category of *mediation* between heaven and earth, i. e. between two opposite realms (even between two contradictories if we assume that the mountain link *time* and *eternity*.)

Mount Meru, as cosmic mountain, denotes a stability, a permanence and a point of reference with a function not different from those of other sacred mountains as the Olympus in Greece, Mount Sinai for Israel, or Thabor for Christian Tradition and so on.²⁰ In this respect, the great mountain has a *static function* even when it may appear differently, as for instance when in the myth of the churning of the ocean, the mountain Mandara is removed and put upon the Tortoise. In the latter story, Mandara seems to be involved in a dynamic process, but actually it *maintains the same significance*, for it represents the *center*, and the instrument through which the *amṛta-manthana* can be obtained. Evidently, this function is subsequent to its first one : that of being a substitute for the cosmic pillar and a divine abode, *parallel*, somehow, *to that of the golden anda*. Cosmographically, Mount Meru has a primary importance and so it deserves a particular attention from several points of view : first of all from that of the philosophical symbolism which regards the basic intuition concerning the origin—or the *foundation*—of the world. In fact the problem of the *origin* of the cosmos and man does not concern chronology, for chronology is a result of time, but regards the necessary *permanent ground* of becoming and time. In this manner, one realises how the symbol of the central mountain points to the permanent divine basis of the cosmos. Even the more or less detailed description of the shape and the location of Meru emphasises this idea, for Meru is the very *heart* of the cosmos and its position is like that of the pericarp of a lotus between the other mountains.²¹ Whatever relation one may

20. See M. Eliade, *Images et symboles*, Gallimard, 1952, p. 53 (English translation *Images and Symbols*, New York, 1961). Cf. also *The Myth of the eternal return*, New York, 1954.

21. *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II, 2, 38.

find between the cosmographical descriptions of Meru, Jambudvīpa etc., and the geography of India this does not affect the *primary meaning* of this symbol which is philosophical and religious and which is to be considered in a wider context than the cosmographical one.

Mount Meru is also bound to the symbol of water. Let us remember what, in this connection, some Purāṇic accounts tell us, as for instance Viṣṇupurāṇa,²² according to which on the top of Meru there falls from the sky the Gaṅgā flowing from a foot of Viṣṇu. The river encircles the city of Brahman and then divides into four streams, flowing in opposite directions. In other legends the Gaṅgā is said to flow from Śiva²³ and to form seven rivers. What is interesting to note is that Gaṅgā waters are not a product, or a derivation of Meru, but come from God Himself. It is thus clear that any geographical reference is transposed to a sacred realm, for the Gaṅgā descends from the Highest, *passes through the holy mountain* and comes down, split into different streams, to sanctify the earth.

Both symbols—Meru and the Gaṅgā—seem to have the same function of linking heaven and earth and that is why they are mentioned together and may be considered by us as particularly significant. What we want to stress here is how the earth and mankind, once created, are not only *maintained* by the power of God, but are *continuously sanctified* by Him, as is symbolised here by the solidity of the mighty mountain and by the flowing richness of the sacred water of Gaṅgā and its derived streams. There are also other features of Mount Meru and its inhabitants of very great interest, but we do not think it necessary to analyse them here since they are of a secondary importance to our present purpose.

The Tortoise's cosmogonic and soteric significance.

The symbol of the tortoise has several parallels in other ancient cultures, although with a varying significance. In China

22. II. 2, 31; Cf. *Mahābhārata* (crit. ed.) VI, 7, 27 where the sacred river falls into the lake Candramasa; see also *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* LVI, 1-5 and *Bhāgavata* V, 17, 1 ff.
23. *Vāyupurāṇa* I, 42, 1 ff and 47, 25 ff; *Matsyapurāṇa* 121, 23 ff; *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa*, XVIII, 25 ff. (Cf. *Mahābhārata* VI, 7, 28). Mount Kailāsa is identified to Mount Meru in most of the Śaivite texts.

it was first used for divination, and only subsequently was it related to the Yin and Yang cosmogonic principles.²⁴

In India, the tortoise is mentioned in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 5, 1, 1 f.) where it is told that Prajāpati assumed the shape of a tortoise to create the world. This means that this sort of animal must have had, since olden times, a kind of suggestive power, because of its peculiar carapace, almost round shaped, made of very strong material, capable of supporting heavy weight without breaking and of sheltering the body with its limbs. All these qualities make it possible for the symbol of the tortoise to be used in various ways.

In Purāṇa this symbol occurs, along with that of *matsya* and the *varāha*, in relation to *pratisarga*, but it has also a soteric meaning as an *avatāric* figure as well as two other theriomorphic incarnations.

The Kūrma appears, in fact, as we have already hinted, in the myths of *samudra-manthana*, where it plays a cardinal role as support of Mount Mandara. The precious liquor of immortality, in fact, emerges from the waters only through the help of the churning stick represented by the sacred mountain. In this myth we find four symbols : (a) the ocean, which reminds us of the primary oceanic waters (b) the *adhiṣṭhāna*, which is the tortoise (c) the instrument for the churning (the mountain) (d) the liquor of immortality which can be obtained only at the end and through the convergence of the preceding divine means. Here we shall consider only the tortoise. It has to be noted that, originally, as is shown in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (loc. cit.) and in the above quoted Purāṇic verse²⁵ the symbol was foreign to that myth of *amṛta-manthana*, although it reappears in this legend as one of the fundamental factors, namely, as the *ultimate ground*.²⁶ In *Harivaṃśa* (III, 30 ff.) and *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 44 ff.) the Kūrma is not found in the myth of *samudra-manthana*, but is found in *Mahābhārata*.²⁷

24. See Fung Yu-Lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton University Press, 1959, vol. I, pp. 382-383.

25. see above, note 6.

26. In various ancient texts the tortoise is considered as the support of the earth.

27. (crit. ed.) I, chap. 15-18.

This means that the original significance of Kūrma is the *cosmic one*, which survives in the *supporting function* of the tortoise in the myth of the churning of the ocean.

In some Indian texts the image of the tortoise is used to express the philosophical concept²⁸ of the *hidden cause* of the world, manifesting itself in its visible effects, or the creation and reabsorption of the universe²⁹.

As viṣṇuītic avatāra the tortoise is considered as a soteric symbol,³⁰ but as such, it is bound to the supreme God, creator and saviour. The usage of Kūrma in Indian arts underlies its primary meaning of being a *cosmic ground*: in fact it is also employed as a *support* for statues, but only rarely is it represented in isolation³¹ and very seldom is it worshipped as such. In this respect although we have to remember that the tortoise, in other asiatic cultures, might have had, sometimes, a bad connotation³², there is, on the whole, a sort of positive evaluation of this symbol, mainly unconscious, perhaps, but quite evident even in art, both in Asia and in Europe, i. e. in the whole area of the old world.³³

28. See *Saṃkhya-kārika*, 15, with commentary of Vācaspati Miśra.

29. Cf. *Mahābhārata* XII, 187, 6.

30. *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, III, 85, 59.

31. See Kalpana S. Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, New Delhi, Abhinava Publication, 1973, p. 67.

32. As for instance in Iranic culture. Cf. *Videvdāt* XIV, 5 and in some aspects of Chinese regional cults. Cf. W. Eberhard, *The local cultures of South and East China*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1968, p. 293 ff.

33. We can easily refer to Italian contemporary art, especially to stone work, where such symbols as the *egg*, *tortoise* and *fish* are very often employed, although with no reference to Indian values, but probably as residuum unconsciously survived of cosmic symbolism in *old Mediterranean* culture. Actually we do not have much documentation regarding ancient cult for representations of tortoise but only a few images in Greek and in Egyptian Art, for instance an Apollo's statue with one foot on a tortoise and an Aphroditis Urania (in a Basrelief by Phidia, British Museum, London,) walking on this animal, which appears also on ancient votive tablets. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa II A, 1; p. 432. See also M. Bieber, *The sculpture of Hellenistic Age*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1961 (second edition) and G. Becatti, *Galleria Uffizi, Sculture*, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1958, figura 98 a-b.

As a symbol for yogic concentration the tortoise is also mentioned in the Bhagavadgītā (II, 58) as if the movements of pravṛtti and nivṛtti in practical individual life were only a parallel to that of God sleeping and awakening again and again during the cosmic cycles.³⁴

All these meanings may, evidently, be correlated to one another, as we have said in the beginning, showing how the support of the world may work also as avatāra and how the microcosm (man) can imitate the great play of creation and recreation of the macrocosmos.

The fish as symbol in pratisarga and avatāra

Although the fish does not belong to Vedic mythology, its figure is found in very ancient Mediterranean and Middle-eastern cultures.³⁵ The fish was not probably an "idol" as such, but mainly a *sign* indicating a watery divinity, and in certain cases, a totemic symbol³⁶ or a symbol of fertility.³⁷

34. On the Kūrma see also Kalpana S. Desai, *Op. cit.*, p. 66 ; W. Ruben, *Eisenschmiden und Daemonen in Indien*, Leiden Intern. Archiv. fuer Ethnographie, 37 Suppl. 1939, pp. 241-243; and J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Delhi 1969, pp. 126-129.

35. One may think of the civilisation of the Indus Valley and its pottery on which are painted fishes, or Minoic Art and classical sculpture. Many books are available on such subjects. Let us quote one of the most recent, in Italian : G. Becatti, *L'arte dell'eta classica*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1971, pp. 15-16 and 19. The fish is a cultural element in ancient near East : see E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, New York, Pantheon, Vol. V, p. 14 ff. Cf. Clemens of Alexandria, *Protreptikos* 2, 39, Lucianus, *Dea Syria* 14 and 15.

36. See I. Gamer-Wallert *Fische und Fischkulte in Alten Aegypten*, Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz, 1970. See also E. R. Goodenough (*op. cit.*, Vol 4 p 14) who quotes an article of E. Douglas Van Buren about ancient Mesopotamia "Fish Offering in ancient Mesopotamia" (Iraq, X, 48).

37. E. R. Goodenough (*Op. cit.*, pp. 15-16) says that sometimes the fish is represented in the rhomb and adds that if the rhomb was often the vulva of the goddess it is a short step to suggest that fertility symbols and phallic symbols were often identical and that from the beginning the fish may have had phallic significance with a reference to the universal source of life in conflict with life-destructive forces.

In India the *matsya* is found in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I, 1, 1, 1 ff.) in the well-known legend of the great flood. In this account the little fish that Manu finds while washing his hands seems to ask for protection, but, later on, it proves to be his *saviour* during the peril of the inundation rescuing him and the boat he had prepared on its advise.

The meaning of this myth is quite clear : the fish is the figure of God who saves mankind and remunerates the good deeds of man. The same myth, with some variants, is available also in *Mahābhārata*³⁸ and *Purāṇa*.³⁹ But we have to ask, how the legend of the great flood is related to other Purāṇic passages connected with *pratisarga* accounts.⁴⁰ It seems that there is a sort of contamination between two different myths : that of *pratisarga*⁴¹ concerning the recreation of the world in different *kalpas* and that of the flood belonging to different tradition. The latter, as is well known, is spread all over the Middle East and gives rise to a various intertwinement of legends.⁴² This shows, once more, the *primacy* of the *fish symbol* into the mythical narrations in which it plays a role. And it is evident that the various meanings of the symbols help us to find the connecting link between the accounts of *pratisarga*, of the *flood* and of the *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.⁴³ The fish, an aqueous animal, is strictly related to the waters: i.e. both to cosmic waters, as it may be assumed from *pratisarga* accounts, and to the inundating waters. And in both cases the fish is a rescuing animal, for it rescues the world in *pratisarga* and saves mankind (represented by Manu). It is to be noted, moreover, that in Purāṇic accounts of the flood,

38. (crit. ed.) III, 185, 2 ff.

39. See, on this subject, the classical work of A. Hohemberger *Die indische Flutsage und das Matsya Purāṇa*, Leipzig, O. Harrassowitz, 1930.

40. See Vāsudeva S. Agrawala, *Matsya-Purāṇa, a study*, Varanasi, All India Kāshirāj Trust, 1963. And Anand Swarup Gupta, *The Problem of interpretation of the Purāṇa* in PURĀṆA BULLETIN, cit. vol VI, 1964, p. 75.

41. See above, note 6.

42. See Hohemberger, *op. cit.*, p. 29. The most striking instance of a borrowing of a tradition from another is that of *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* and the biblical account of the deluge.

43. See Kalpana Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 62 ff. As for the theory of *avatāra*, in general, see Paul Hacker "Zur Entwicklung der Avatāralehre" in *Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde Sud-Ostasiens*, Band IV, 1960, 47-70.

Manu gives origin to a new progeny, i.e. to a *new creation* or, better, to a "recreation" i. e. to a *pratisarga* in a stricter sense.⁴⁴

The fish, as a soteric symbol, had a suggestive efficacy enabling it to be considered, later on, as a viṣṇuitic *avatāra*, which, although not one of the most famous or the most celebrated in Indian literature and worship, is, in our opinion, one of the most important and most *meaningful* from an interreligious point of view. Everybody knows, in fact, how important is the fish in the Jewish and Christian traditions, and how often it occurs even in non Indian art.⁴⁵ Even in Greece the fish and particularly the delphin, was a saving animal for, as we have to remember, it was a delphin to save Dionysius from the waters.⁴⁶

At this point, we have to consider one more aspect of the fish; the dangerous one, for there are *big fishes* which went to devour the small ones.⁴⁷ It seems therefore that the fish is an ambivalent symbol.⁴⁸

44. The meaning of *pratisarga* in *Purāṇa* is not constant. For this see the introduction of W. Kirfel to his book *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*. cit., p. XLVII. As far as Manu is concerned, he has to be related also to the series of the 14 Manu and their respective Manu-antara. The fact that the account of the deluge is connected to the *seventh* Manu denotes the *centrality* of this figure and his importance for the prosecution of mankind and for salvation. See, for instance, *Matsyapurāṇa* II, 1 ff.

45. It is well known that the fish is one of the symbols of Jesus Christ (I. X. TH. U. S.) assuming in itself the preceding symbolism of mediterranean and middle-east cultures. The fish, symbol of Christ, is connected with the water of baptism *regenerating* man and restoring him to his original supernatural condition. Here again, *water and fish* symbolize *salvation from sin and death*. Even Christians are called "*fishes*" as Tertullian says: "Sed nos pisciculi secundum Ichthun nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur, nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus". (*De Baptismo*. Migne P. L. 1306 A; or C. C. I. 277.) As for the representation of fish in art, one may think, in most recent times, of such a famous painter as Marc Chagall, who assumed Jewish and Christian symbols of the fish among others, in a remarkable way.

46. See E. B. Stebbins: *The Delphin in Literature and Art of Greece and Rome*, Menasha, Visconsin, 1929.

47. See *Agnipurāṇa* II, 5-6; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* VIII, 24, 14; Cf. *Mahābhārata* (crit. ed.) III, 185, 8.

48. As for the ambivalence of the fish symbol one may also consider its psychological value, as is shown by C. G.

There exists also, in India, a relation between the symbol of the fish (actually *makara*) and *kāma* showing the persistence of one originary phallic significance of the fish so that its polyvalence gave rise to three different sorts of fishes : the good one, which is an *avatāra*, the bad one, which is a devouring monster, and the fish-phallus having an independent mythical function.⁴⁹

The polyvalence of the fish symbol may be proved also by some Purāṇic verses as for example in *Matsyapurāṇa* I, 25-26, where Manu, seeing the enormous fish filling up the whole sea, utters the following words : "are you the king of Asura or Vāsudeva ?" This means that if the huge fish could be mistaken for an Asura it must have had, at least in its appearance, something dreadful. In fact it is typical of some appearing divinities to impress men with an unexpected semblance, which may be considered, as Rudolf Otto says, a fascinating and tremendous "mystery" or, to use a more Indian expression, as a sort of *līlā* of *māyā*.⁵⁰

According to other accounts however Manu recognises more easily the divinity of the great fish.⁵¹ But it is to be noted that in the latter myths there is a clear-cut distinction between the fish-saviour and the monster, i. e. between God and the Daitya, so that no mistake is possible and Manu can exclaim, "Indeed you are the Lord Hari."⁵²

In *Padmapurāṇa*⁵³ a demon who is a great Asura steals the *Veda* and, therefore, has to be killed so that the *Śruti* may be reco-

Jung in : *Aion, researches into the phenomenology of the self*, Princeton University Press, 1968, chapter IX.

49. Cf. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Delhi, Indological Book house (reprint) 1968, p. 167.

50. In *Agnipurāṇa* II, 10 Manu says : "*Māyayā mohayasi māṇ kim arthaṃ tvam Janārdana ?*"

51. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* VIII, 24, 27. In *Mahābhārata* God himself says how he will be recognisable through his big horn (crit. ed. III, 185, 32.)

52. *Bhāgavatapur.* Ibid.

53. (ed. Ā. S. S.) VI, 258, 3 ff. The Daitya is clearly opposed to Viṣṇu, as evil to good, but there is no doubt that the omnipotence of Viṣṇu will overpower the devilish might. This account is strongly permeated by a religious spirit, in the most orthodox manner, since the *matsya-avatāra* is connected with the stealing of the *Veda*, which are regarded as the source of all good on earth. Here

vered and order restored in the world. In this account, typical of avatāra legends, the figure of Manu is absent. At the center of the narration is the Lord Viṣṇu, first eulogised and invoked by Brahmā, on behalf of all the gods, then appearing in his *matsya*-incarnation. Viṣṇu, as *Matsya*, incarnates himself not to help Manu to cross the waters of the flood, but to kill the big and dangerous *Makara*.

But there is also another important meaning of the fish-symbol : that of the *soul*⁵⁴, since God is the *supreme soul*. This symbolic aspect of the fish is not expressly given in Purāṇic texts, but emerges from very old interpretations in ancient cultures, as for instance in Egypt,⁵⁵ or in Mesopotamia, and reappears in commentaries to the *Purāṇa*.

It is also possible that there was a link between the fish avatāra in India and the fish-god in Sumeric tradition: the god who thought men, arts and sciences, and constitutes a parallel to the god Ea of Akkadic mythology.⁵⁶ Now, Ea, whose name means "house of the waters", is also related to the waters on which floats the earth and is, therefore, a sort of support; but, what is more important, is the fact that Oates and Ea are *masters of wisdom* and founders of civilization.

To sum up, we may suppose that, although the avatāric symbol in Mahāpurāṇa may be more recent than those of the flood, the figure of the god-fish as *symbol of immortality and wisdom* may be older than that of the fish-monster, and not, originally, bound to

salvation depends on the rescuing of the Veda and not of man. The ocean is merely a hiding place for the demon and Viṣṇu dives into the waters to kill the enemy of the world.

54. See C. G. Jung, *Aion*, cit. p. 122. The author refers to : Spiegelberg, *Der Fisch als Symbol der Seele*.
55. Goodenough, op. cit., vol V, fig. 9 where a mummy appears in the form of a fish.
56. G. Contenau, *Le deluge babylonien*, Paris, Payot, 1952, p. 47-48.
57. Boemberger, op. cit., p. 25 ff. Actually Hoemberger deals only with the interdependence of the myths of the flood in Purāṇa and Mahābhārata studying the chronology of the various texts. This is an extremely precious study to establish the diachronical changes of myths, although, as far as symbols are concerned, one may never be sure of their antiquity, for very old meanings are liable to *reappear* in comparatively recent accounts.

the myth of the great flood; a myth to which pratisarga accounts have been assimilated and to which the later legend of the stealing of the Veda has been added. It is worth noticing, however, that even the connection between the fish and the Veda (i.e. the supreme wisdom) is not without an ancient 'model' in middle-eastern cultures.

It is true that the fact that one and the same symbol appears in different areas does not mean that there has been a borrowing, or a detectable migration from one culture to another. One knows very well how symbolisation is spontaneous and supra-conscious so that there is no need of postulating a 'model' in the historical sense. However in view of the geographical vicinity between the Middle-east and India (especially if we think of the old civilizations of the Indus Valley) one may justify a relationship between some symbols, which present an analogy.

We would even suggest that subsequent philosophical interpretations of some symbols could have *thin basis in first original intuitions* already existing in old representations of proto-historical mythology.

The snake as deity and as viṣṇuitic symbol.

The snake must have been, from very ancient times, a fascinating animal because of his movements suggesting the rhythm of water waves and because of the magic powers it is supposed to possess. In Egypt⁵⁸ the serpent had several meanings, as for instance that of creator, of a serpent-god encircling the world, or of water-god, living in the caverns out of which the flood of the Nile was to spring; but it was also considered hostile animal, a serpent dragon (Apopis) who personified the powers of darkness. Of all these figures, the most important seems to have been that of Suto, spoken of in the 87 Book of the Dead, as an eternal animal, "who dies and is reborn again", dwelling in the farthest regions of the world.

In other mediterranean cultures, as for instance in Crete, there was a female-serpent representing a chthonic figure of mother-goddess⁵⁹.

58. R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1959, pp. 239-240.

59. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, Vol I, Muenchen 1955 (2 ed.), p. 214.

In any case, the serpent personified a non-human being, having a mysterious and primeval character.

In Vedic India we find the serpent-dragon Vṛtra as enemy of Indra, but we may also detect a serpent worship in *Rajur Veda*⁶⁰ and in *Atharva Veda*⁶¹ which testify to a positive evaluation of the nāga. In *Rg Veda* (II, 35) there is trace of an old Indo-iranian divinity, *Apām Napāt* dwelling in the depth of the waters, called also "son of the waters" as in a Hymn of *Rg Veda* (VII, 34, 16). In Epic and Purāṇic mythology the most remarkable figure of the snake is the great Śeṣa, often considered as king of snakes. Even in the above-mentioned legend of the churning of the ocean there is a snake, Vāsuki, playing an important role as a churning rope; and in the myth of the flood referred to in Purāṇa⁶² the boat of Manu is tied to the fish with a snake having the function of a rope. Here the assimilation of the snake with the rope has not, of course, the usual epistemological meaning of an illusion, but the symbolic meaning of a function which is however subordinate to that of other symbols (*matsya and kūrma*) which have an avatāric denotation.

The serpent Śeṣa was not, originally, an avatāra; only later on, and not earlier than *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (V, 25, 11) did it become one of the avatāra of Viṣṇu. Previously it was considered his bed, his resting place during the intervals of creation and in this respect it has to be regarded as symbol of *permanence*, or a *residuum* which is left over after the destruction of the world.⁶³ Even if creation disappears, God remains unaltered and with God is left the potentiality of a further creation, symbolised by the great serpent floating on the ocean. Śeṣa is, therefore, a *mediating figure* between two cosmic cycles, a place of the sleeping God. But God, although resting, is always alive, full of creative energy, always ready to re-create the universe. All this is figured by the Śeṣa afloat on the waters and never sinking down. Thus the imperishable nature

60. Cf. *Maitrāyaṇī-saṃhitā* II, 7, 15

61. Cf. J. P. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore: the nāgas in Hindu Legend and Art*, London, Arthur Probsth, 1926, p. 7 ff.

62. *Matsyapurāṇa* I, 2, 18-19; *Agnipurāṇa* I, 2, 12-13; *Bhagavatapurāṇa* VIII, 24, 45.

63. See also : C. Malamoud, "Observations sur la notion de rest (śeṣa) dans le brāhmanisme" in *Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde Sud and Ostasiens* 1972, p. 5. ff.

of God and creation is represented in this figure, something which is so often and so well represented also in the plastic arts of India.

An interesting description of the cosmic snake⁶⁴ is found in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*⁶⁵ where Akrūra, diving into the waters of the river Kalindī, sees a serpent having a thousand hoods decorated with diadems, clad in blue garments, shining like the peaks of mountains, white like the fiber of a lotus. On his lap there lies a God (*puruṣa*) having four arms, a peaceful appearance, eyes resembling lotus leaves, and a dark black complexion. This deity is decorated with diadem and armlets and holds in his hands a lotus, a conch-shell, a mace and a discus, the gems Śrivatsa and Kaustubha hang on his breast. In this description, the great serpent is clearly associated with Viṣṇu, but in an unusual manner, I would say, in a *glorified* way. There is no hint at the snake as bed of Viṣṇu floating on the waters; the snake is here a sort of throne, a royal seat for Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, and is considered a divinity itself in so far as it is *one* of the divine manifestations. This account seems to reflect also another function of the cosmic snake : that of *supporting the earth*, as in *Mahābhārata*⁶⁶ and in various other places of Indian Literature.⁶⁷ Yet, this appearance of the cosmic snake and Viṣṇu happens in the *waters of the river* into which Akrūra plunges. It seems therefore that here there may be a confusion between different accounts⁶⁸ or, probably, an association of images: that of the snake abiding in a subterranean region and that of a serpent of waters. In any case, the meaning of the symbol is clear: a living place for the glorification of Viṣṇu, the creator, praised by all sort of creatures, even by Brahmā and Śiva. Akrūra himself eulogises God⁶⁹ calling him the *first cause* of the universe, the *eternal and imperishable* Puruṣa, supreme God, pure *Consciousness*, and so on.

The world-serpent is also associated in art with the varāha avatāra. It is to be noted, for instance, that in sculptures portra-

64. There is no doubt that this divine snake of *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* may be identified with Śeṣa or Ananta. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Kīṣkindhākāṇḍa 40, 51-52).

65. X, 39, 32 ff.

66. *Ādi-parvan* (crit. ed.) chap. 31.

67. Cf. J. P. Vogel, op. cit., p. 38 ff.

68. Ibid. p. 91 ff.

69. *Bhāgavata*, X, 40; the whole chapter consists of this beautiful eulogy by Akrūra.

ying the boar incarnation the serpent Śeṣa is rarely missing. In technical books dealing with iconography, it is stated that the serpent Śeṣa supports one of the feet of the boar while rising from the waters.⁷⁰ In this manner, the primeval snake Ādi-Śeṣa is connected with the primeval boar Ādi-varāha. This is not surprising, for both symbols are related to water and to *pratisarga* myths⁷¹ and both reflect, probably, very old animal-worship shared, in one way or other, with other Indo-Mediterranean cultures.⁷² But in Purāṇic accounts such a worship is no longer "primitive" or totemic, but on the contrary, it is strictly linked to other symbols of the supreme God. There is in fact a *thematic unity* which one may find even in legends or descriptions of various origins and which underlies what, in appearance, could seem heterogeneous. This unity is synthesized, in a wonderful manner, in pictorial and plastic arts showing how the artists have well understood the deepest meaning and the *inner association* of all the symbols connected with the *cosmogonic* and *soterical* action of God. Let us remember, finally, that in the Bible the snake is also a symbol of power as is shown in *Exodus* VII, 9ff and a symbol of salvation as in *Num.* XXI, 8-9 and in *Wisdom* XVI, 5-7. It is also the type of Christ (*Jn* III, 14-15) and it appears as such in ancient Christian art.

The varāha

Let us see, now, more closely, the figure of the boar to which we have already hinted in the last paragraph. The boar is found, since the time of *Atharva Veda*, in a hymn⁷³ where there is mention of the earth "in concord with the boar" opening itself to the wild hog.

70. See G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi, 1968 (second ed.) vol I, pp. 128 ff. Cf. J. P. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-96 and M. T. Mallman, *Les enseignements iconographiques de l'Agni Purāṇa*, Paris, P. U. F., 1962, pp. 196-200. See also K. S. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 24 ff.

71. See below, note 74.

72. Cp. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, cit. vol I, pp. 464 and 584. See also J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, cit. p. 129 ff.

73. XII, 1, 48 (Cf. *Atharva-Veda-Saṃhitā*, translated into English with critical and Exegetical Commentary by W. D. Whitney, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. VIII).

In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIV, 1, 2, 11) the boar, called Emuṣa,⁷⁴ is also connected with the earth which it has raised up, and it even stands for Prajāpati, her husband. Again in *Taittirīya Saṃhita* (VII, 1, 5, 1) it is said that in the beginning this world was only water and that Prajāpati on seeing her became a boar and he took her up; then he became Viśvakarman and wiped the water from her and she extended herself and became pṛthivī.⁷⁵

It is clear enough, from these examples, that the boar has to do with the creation of the world, actually with the separation of the earth from water.⁷⁶

The boar is also considered to be the husband of the earth, the one who fecundates her, and it is also known that, since Vedic times, this animal has been associated with several gods, starting from Rudra, "the boar of the sky."⁷⁷

Thus the boar, symbol of God, the creator and the giver of fertility to the earth, became, later on, an avatāra of Viṣṇu in the pratisarga accounts, like the fish and the tortoise, as we have already seen.

But it is to be remembered that the varāha was also related to the sacrifice (yajña-varāha) of which it is a symbol so that in Purāṇic texts the descriptions of each limb of the boar's body is correlated to a part of the sacrifice. In this sense, the boar has to do with the efficacy and the "constructive" power of the sacrifice. The superimposition of the two different images (of Varāha as symbol of sacrifice and as creator or saviour) is not casual, for it results from an encounter between brahmanical ritualism and local Indian culture.⁷⁸ We have, in this connection, to stress the fact that there is no opposition between the two figures, since there has been an assimilation of one with the other. This does not mean a

74. As for the meaning of Emuṣa, it has been remarked that the origin of this name must be non-Aryan and probably Austro-Asiatic. Cf. J. Gonda, op. cit., p. 137 and V. S. Agrawala "Yajña-varāha" in *Purāṇa Bulletin*, July 1963, vol. V, N. 2., p. 227.

75. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* I, 1, 3, 5 ff.

76. Even in the Bible the account of creation has to be interpreted as separation.

77. *R̥g Veda*, I, 114, 5.

78. See V. S. Agrawala "Yajña-varāha" cit. p. 214 ff.

confusion but an intertwinement of symbols, both representing, each in its own way, power and efficiency. Thus in *Purāṇa*,⁷⁹ as has been pointed out,⁸⁰ one can find the philosophical idea that the cosmos was *concealed* in the womb of its *first cause symbolized by the primeval ocean*. The earth has to be raised up by the power of a mighty God, represented by a strong animal, able to dive into the waters and to put her again on the surface. The personified earth, invoking the help of God, is the figure of the whole mankind, of all living beings and of the entire cosmos *unable* to emerge without a divine agency. The earth has to be "rescued" by the same God who created her, as is related in *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.⁸¹

In other probably later accounts the earth complains because she is overburdened with many people;⁸² but this *reason* seems to be only an excuse to justify the fact that the earth sank down. Originally, the idea of the earth submerged by the waters was cosmogonic and metaphorically it can be interpreted, as said above, as a symbol for *the world in need of the help of God* in every sense: and that is true of all the avatāric legends.

Another interesting analogy is that of *vāyu* and *varāha*, as mentioned in *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*,⁸³ according to which *Brahmā*, *having become wind*, moved on the waters as glow-worm at night during the rainy season and having thought that the earth had sunk in the water, made himself another body, as in the preceding kalpa...adopting the form of a boar fit to sport in the water. That form was unconquerable and "able to speak."

Not less interesting is the account of *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (III, 13, 17 ff) according to which Manu asks God to have a place to live in, since the earth is submerged by the water; at his request, a wonder happens: a tiny boar, of the dimension of a thumb, comes out of the nostrils of *Brahmā*. Suddenly the boar increases in dimension to the size of an elephant, utters thunderous roar and

79. For a synoptical view of accounts see Kirfel, op. cit., pp. 16-18 for *Mārkaṇḍeyap.* XLVII, 7-11; *Viṣṇup.* I, 4, 8 ff. *Padmap.* V, 3, 22 ff. (or, I, 3, 28. ff)

80. See above, note 78.

81. I, 4, 12-20. Cf. *Viṣṇusmṛti* I, 1-14.

82. See *Mahābhārata* (crit. ed. vol. IV, p. 1062, 66 ff.)

83. *Vāyupurāṇa* 6, 7 ff. *Brahmāṇḍap.* I, 5, 7 ff. Cf. *Līṅgap.* 70, 19 ff. Cf. Kirfel, op. cit., p. 60.

dives into the water to recover the earth. This varāha is called Yajña-Puruṣa and is nothing but the Supreme Lord, ready to help Manu and to give him a dry and safe abode.

The figure of varāha in this myth is added with a new docetistic element, for God assumes the form of a boar through the power of his māyā and, after having raised the earth from the waters, suddenly disappears. The boar coming out from the nose of Brahmā, quickly increasing in dimension, diving to the deep of waters and lifting the earth as in sport (līlayā), is an object of wonder, a magic feat, in perfect consonance with the spirit of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. The event in question is not only "supernatural", as is the case of all Purāṇic accounts, but it appears in a new context and with fresh shades of meaning. The description of the "sacrificial" body of varāha looks in this context more traditional and almost stereotyped.

An other constituent factor of this myth is the killing of the demon Hiranyākṣa with whom the Lord fights with prowess. This fight is also narrated with poetical similes, for the mighty boar appears like a lion slaying an elephant, but with ease, as in sport;⁸⁴ his mouth gets besmeared with the blood of the Daitya, like an elephant coloured with red chalk, as in a play. After the fight everybody recognises him as the Lord and all the ṛṣi praise him with a long eulogy chanting his *sacrificial body* and his qualities of Supreme God and Father of the Universe.⁸⁵

The symbol of the lotus flower

The most beautiful symbol which occurs in cosmogonic myths is surely that of the lotus flower sprung from the navel of Viṣṇu and giving birth to Brahmā.⁸⁶ Why, may one ask, this new element in cosmogonic accounts? The answer is, in a way, simple: because since olden times this flower has been a very important symbol of beauty and purity, and was considered as a mythical receptacle and a birthplace for the gods.⁸⁷

84. III, 13, 31-33.

85. Ibid. 34-45.

86. See *Mahābhārata* (crit. ed.) vol. IV, Appendix, fr. 27 and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* III. 8.

87. *Rg Veda* VI, 16, 13; VII, 33, 11; X, 82, 6.

The lotus, a flower coming out from the water, seems to have an uncommon origin, straight from the womb of life, and because of its maṇḍalic shape it is taken for a symbol for the *totality of the cosmos*⁸⁸, seat of the Ātman, as the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* says⁸⁹. The lotus is thus associated with the *heart*, i. e. with the innermost center of our being, the "city of Brahman".

The ideas contained in the texts of the *Śruti* and somehow available also in other cultures⁹⁰ can be found again in Purāṇic cosmogonies and in many similes in Indian Literature. What is important to stress, here, is the *harmonization* of this symbol with the others that we have already described in *sarga* and *pratisarga* legends. If we take, for instance, the image of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa lying on the cosmic serpent, that of the flower blooming out of the navel of the God, and that of Brahmā born within the lotus, we notice a sort of *ascending scale of symbols*, all having cosmic significance : first the cosmic water, then the serpent supporting the sleeping God, the immovable, eternal God out of whom everything is born again and again like a flower in a blossoming fecundity and, lastly, the demiurgic power of Brahmā giving shape to creation.

If we consider also other images, for instance the Varāha as represented in sculpture, we remark that often he holds a lotus in one of his hands. In fact the lotus is one of the most common symbols of Viṣṇu. A symbol which, along with others—the discus, the conch and the mace—denotes the divine power on the universe and represents the Unalterable beauty of God.

The French scholar Madeleine Biardeau has found also a relationship between the *lotus* and the *cosmic egg*, for both symbols represent a totality, and she has interpreted the navel of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa as the feminine aspect of generation, fecundated by the divine meditative thought⁹¹. This meditation plays the role of the fecundating element and is represented precisely by lotus flower.

88. See G. Tucci, *Teoria e pratica del maṇḍala*, Roma, Ubaldini, 1968 (sec. ed.) (Engl. trans. *The Theory and practice of the maṇḍala*, London Ridge and C., 1961).

89. VIII, 1-4.

90. Cf. R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and symbol in ancient Egypt*, cit. p. 239.

91. See : *Bulletin de l' Ecole française d' Extreme Orient*, vol. LV, p. 66.

In *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (III, 8, 10 ff.) the birth of the lotus is explained in *philosophical terms*. It is in fact explained how the cosmic energy (*śakti*) having in itself the essence of time, being in the body of Viṣṇu as the burning energy of fire is contained in the wood, was agitated by the quality of *rajas* issued from the region of the navel, and grew up under the action of time (*Kāla*) and became a lotus which illumined by its splendour the vast ocean, as if it were a sun. Viṣṇu himself went up through the stalk of the flower and in the middle of the lotus appeared Brahmā Svayambhū who, in the beginning, was unable to know either the nature of the world or himself. Therefore he went down through the pore of the lotus stalk to find out its *origin*, but he could not discover it. He then decided to sit in meditation in the middle of the lotus for the period of a man's life, and only after that time he could see the Lord Puruṣa on his bed—the surface of the water—appearing in all his splendour.

This account is clear enough and does not need any explanation. We only would underline the link between the *lotus and the meditation* of Brahmā. The legend, on the whole, seems in fact to be inspired by the symbol of the lotus which represents not only the beauty of God, and the beauty of creation, but a means for *meditating and discovering the real nature* of God, cosmos and man. One cannot detect the essence of reality without concentrating one's own mind, as Brahmā himself did. One could also ask why Brahmā could not discover immediately his own origin. The reason is not given in the text, but was searched for by commentators. It is, anyhow, clear that the account want to emphasize the necessity of reflection in philosophical and religious thinking—something which is allegorised in the *paradigmatic figure* of Brahmā. This God is not only demiurge but also a *model* for mankind, teaching it how to search for the ultimate answers to the fundamental questions of the human mind, namely those relative to the origin of the universe.

The figure of the lotus, in this mythical tale of *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, is conferable to another symbol : that of the *cosmic tree*. This image is hinted at in the description of Viṣṇu, in verse 20, where the arms of God are compared to the branches of a tree. The root of this tree is *avyakta*, the hidden principle of the development of the world. There is probably no need to point out the importance of this association between the lotus and the cosmic

tree: two images which, often, stand one for the other, even in arts.⁹² One could also see that, as for instance in the above mentioned account, the lotus flower is a *substitute* for the classical image of the cosmic tree.⁹³ Its trunk is the world and its basis is the navel of Viṣṇu; the petals of the flower correspond to its branches. This image could be related, again, to that of the tree found in *Mahābhārata*⁹⁴ arising from *avyakta*, having the *buddhi* as trunk and the channels of the senses as its inner cavity, the great elements as branches and the object of senses as leaves.

The lotus flower sprung from Viṣṇu, in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (loc. cit.) looks also as a kind of ladder, or scale of knowledge along which goes (up and down) Brahmā in search for the *basis* of the stalk. It seems that there is here a sort of *shifting* from the *ontological* to the epistemological symbolic level, or vice versa. This should cause no surprise for it is *through* knowledge that one obtains truth and *discovers* the reality which is *already* present. *Brahmā* searches for and finds the *basis* for there is a basis to be discovered.

Thus the lotus, as the cosmic tree, is a plant of *life* and of *knowledge*,⁹⁵ unifying in itself two concepts which have a determinant function in all sorts of philosophies. The assimilation of these symbols goes together with the association of the corresponding concepts; but it is to be remembered that *one* symbol can represent *more than one concept*, just because a symbol is suggestive more than definible, and even when inserted within a clearly shaped myth it is richer than the narration and can thus belong to various even divergent contexts. It is not difficult to discover this throughout Indian Literature. But to show this would imply an enormous work which goes beyond the scope of our present study. We have therefore confined ourselves to some cosmogonic symbols in *Mahāpurāṇa*, more precisely to the most important legends and to their

92. See F. D. K. Bosch, *op. cit.*, p. 99 ff,

93. *The cosmic tree*, in Indian Literature, appears often as inverted, having roots in the sky. Here the lotus has root in Viṣṇu's navel. Both images have, no doubt, the same meaning, for they are based on the highest Reality.

94. (crit. ed.) XIV, 47, 12-13.

94. The symbols of the *tree of knowledge* (or of wisdom) and the *tree of life* are available in many cultures and specially in the first book of the Bible where however they have a more elaborate significance.

principal symbols, leaving aside minor figures, which we have to deal with in a subsequent study.

A few words may be added about the jewels adorning both Viṣṇu and the cosmic serpent, or the colours of garments in which the God is clad. The shining jewels and the yellow garments remind clearly one of the colours of the sun. Even the lotus, as we recall, is said to shine like sun.⁹⁶ A symbol for the sun is also the *cakra*, which always accompanies Viṣṇu, whereas the conch is a sign of the oceanic waters. Actually the conch⁹⁷ represents more than that, for its spiral form alludes to a movement of disclosure starting from one central point, or, conversely, to a movement of return to the same point, thus symbolising the creation and reabsorption of the universe. We can conclude by saying that *any* descriptive feature in Purāṇic mythology has its symbolic meaning and since symbols are the clothing of truth, to understand their significance is to find that truth which is the heritage of all peoples and civilisations.

96. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, III, 8, 14.

97. As for the conch, see also Mircea Eliade, *Images and symbols*, cit. chap. IV.

98. On the meaning of the movement and orientation of the conch see F. Zimmermann, *Gauche et droite, dehors et dedans*, Thesis at the Sorbonne, (Paris) 1972 (third cycle).

*PŪRVA-MĪMĀMSĀ AND PAURĀNIC INTERPRETATION

By

S. G. MOGHE

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन प्रतिपादितं यद् धर्मशास्त्र-
निबन्धकारैः पौराणिकवचनानां व्याख्याने जैमिनि-शबर-कुमारिलादि-
मीमांसाचार्यैः प्रतिपादितपूर्वमीमांसासिद्धान्तानामनुसरणं कृतम् ।
पुराणेष्वपि तेषां सिद्धान्तानां संकेतो वर्तते । देवणभट्ट-शूलपाणि—
शंकरभट्ट-नीलकण्ठ-मित्रमिश्र-रघुमणि-नाम्नामाचार्याणां ग्रन्थानामेव
अत्र विवेचनं कृतम् । धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धकारैः पौराणिकवचनानां व्याख्याने
बाहुल्येन लोकव्यवहारसिद्धान्तानां मीमांसान्यायानां च प्रयोगः कृतः ।
पौराणिकवचनान्यपि धर्मशास्त्रवचनानां मीमांसानुकूलं व्याख्याने सहाय-
कानि सन्ति । इदमपि निर्दिष्टं वर्तते यद् रामानुजाचार्यैः स्ववेदार्थसंग्रह-
ग्रन्थे धर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थानामुपेक्षा कृता । पौराणिकविदुषां धर्मशास्त्रविदुषां
च पुरतः इदं स्पष्टं यद् धर्मशास्त्रकारैः पुराणवचनव्याख्याने उद्धरणे च
लौकिकन्यायानां मीमांसान्यायानां बाहुल्येन उपयोगः कृतः ।]

Generally in interpreting the texts of Purāṇas, one does not experience any difficulty. This may be the reason why there are very few commentaries in Sanskrit on the paurāṇic texts. In this paper, therefore, an attempt is made to bring to light the illuminating contribution of the writers on Dharma-Śāstra literature interpreting the paurāṇic texts with the help of the doctrines of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā already framed by Jaimini, Śābara and Kumārila. Incidentally it will also be shown as to how the paurāṇic texts serve the purpose of the Dharma-Śāstra authors in interpreting the Dharma-Śāstra texts. To illustrate the truth of the above observations, I restrict myself to the works of Devaṇḍabhaṭṭa (1200 to 1225 A. D.), Śūlapāṇi (1375 to 1460 A. D.), Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa (1560 to 1620 A. D.); Nīlakaṇṭha (1615-1645 A. D.), Mitrāmīśra (1615 to 1645 A. D.) and Raghumaṇi the author of the Dattaka-Candrikā. All these dates are fixed by M.M. Dr. P. V. Kane in the History of Dharma-Śāstra Vol. I parts I and II (Revised and enlarged) published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

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I. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane has already noted the view point¹ of the Vedārthasaṅgraha of Rāmānujācārya that all the Purāṇas should be so interpreted that they should not be in conflict with the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. Here possibly the utility of the Mīmāṃsā doctrines in interpreting the texts of Purāṇas is ignored by the author of the Vedārthasaṅgraha. And his main intention appears to remove the contradictions in respect of the matters described in several Purāṇas.

II. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane has also pointed out in the History of Dharma-Śāstra² that the authors of the Purāṇas are thoroughly conversant with the principles of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. To clarify this point Dr. Kane invites our attention to the principle of the Ṛtuliṅga nyāya employed by Kumārila in his Tantravārtika on Jaimini's Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā I. 3.7. This very principle of this Ṛtuliṅga nyāya is also found utilised by the authors of the Vāyu Purāṇa 9.65, Viṣṇu Purāṇa 1.5.61 and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 45.4-44. The above references point in the direction that the authors of the paurāṇic texts are quite conscious of some of the principles of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā.

III. On a careful study of the works of the above mentioned authors on the Dharma-Śāstra literature, one can easily detect that they have taken ample care to interpret the paurāṇic texts by resorting to the doctrines of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. Here I invite the attention of the readers to some of the Mīmāṃsā maxims utilised by the above authors for bringing the point home to the readers. The principle of the Rātrisatra nyāya in interpreting the text of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. The Rātrisatra nyāya simply means that those who wish to get some stability in this world or fame in this world should perform this sacrifice. Actually for this sacrifice, one has to imagine the independent fruit. This case is on par with the Viśvajit nyāya. The Rātrisatra looks like a mere praise of the performance of the Rātrisatra, but really it is a Vidhi about the reward of the Rātrisatra and states an exception to the rule that svarga is the fruit of a rite in which no reward is specified by the vedic text. While discussing the nature and time for the performance of the Kāmya Śrāddha, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa quotes the

1. History of Dharma-Śāstra Vol. V. Part. II. p. 957 n.
2. Ibid., p. 1341.

text³ of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and states that the Kāmya Śrāddha should be performed on a solstice, on the equinox, on the Vyatipata day, on the birth day of his constellation and the eclipse of the sun and the moon. He also points out that the Samkrānti period is also capable of securing the desired fruit. The question naturally arises as regards the proper fruit for the performance of the Kāmya Śrāddha. Here applying the principle of the Rātrisatra nyāya, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa points out that the extreme satisfaction of the manes is the proper fruit for the performance of the Kāmya Śrāddha. This discussion is already made by the present author elsewhere.⁴ To clarify this point further, one can very well invite the attention of the readers to the employment⁵ of the Mīmāṃsā nyāya 'S a n d i g d h e ṣ u c a V ā k y a ś e ṣ ā t' on the part of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa in the Dvaita-Nirṇaya in interpreting the texts of the Skanda Purāṇa and the Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa. It may be further added here that the principle of 'S a r v a ś ā k h ā p r a t y a m e k a n k a r m a, otherwise known as 'Ś ā k h ā n t a r a nyāya' is also utilised by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa in his Dvaita-Nirṇaya, in interpreting the text of the Skanda Purāṇa. It is further interesting to note that even Nilakaṇṭha has employed the principle of the maxim 'A ṅ g a p h a l a ś r u t i ḥ A r t h a v ā d a ḥ' Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā IV. 3.1 in his Samaya Mayūkha p. 47 for the interpreting the text⁷ of the Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa which points out the absence of downfall as fruit for the observance of the fast on the Aṣṭamī day. Here Nilakaṇṭha points out that p ū j ā is a

3. विष्णुपुराण quoted in स्मृतिचंद्रिका p. 380 J. R. Gharpure edition or श्राद्धकाण्ड p. 126. (Mysore edition)
4. J. O. R. I. and M. Library Kerala. Vol. XVII. No 4. pp. 4-6
5. द्वैतनिर्णय, pp. 21 and 34. (J. R. Gharpure's edition).
धर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थमाला No. 28, 1943.
6. चतुर्दशी तु कर्तव्या त्रयोदश्या युता विभो । मम भर्तुर्महाबाहो भवेद्या चापराङ्गिकी ॥ दर्शविद्धा न कर्तव्या राकाविद्धा कदाचन । स्कन्दपुराण (quoted in द्वैतनिर्णय p. 33.)
7. श्रावणे बहुले पक्षे कृष्णजन्माष्टमी व्रतम् । न करोति नरो यस्तु भवति ब्रह्मराक्षसः ॥ भविष्यत् पुराण quoted in the समय मयूख p. 47. (Gujarati Printing Press edition, 1918).

principal act and the observance of the fast is a subsidiary act and the fruit promised for the subsidiary act is to be taken as glorificatory, following the principle of the above maxim. The above quoted illustrations are sufficient to establish that the authors of the Dharma-Śāstra have used Mīmāṃsā nyāyas to interpret the paurāṇic texts.

IV. It is also an established fact that even Śabara and Kumārila have utilised the popular maxims in their comments on Jaimini's Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Sūtras. Even Śaṅkarācārya, the celebrated commentator of the Brahma Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa, has also employed the popular maxims for interpreting the Upaniṣadic texts. The principle of the maxim 'Ā g a n t ū n ā m a n t e N i v e ś a h' is utilised by Śabara in his comments on Jaimini's Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā X. 5.1, V. iii. 4, V. 2.19 and X v. 4. This nyāya simply means that when certain persons are specifically invited for a meeting or a dinner, they are seated on seats definitely allotted to them. But that those who come uninvited are assigned the places at the end of the row of those who were specially invited. This principle is utilised by Mitramiśra in his Śrāddha Prakāśa p. 261 for interpreting the text of the Brahmapurāṇa.⁸

V. The authors on Dharma-Śāstra literature have also employed other Mīmāṃsā technical terms like Upalakṣaṇa, Atideśa, Arthavāda, Niṣedha, Parisamkhyā, Pāṭhakrama, Punarvacana, Pratiprasava and Vikalpa for interpreting the texts of Purāṇas. To substantiate this point, one can point out ample illustrations from the Dharma-Śāstra literature. Pratiprasava means an exception to the exception or exception to the negative rule. While discussing the topic of the things which must not be sold, Nīlakaṇṭha quotes verses from the Parāśara Smṛti I. 62 and the Kālikā Purāṇa.⁹ Here the general rule is that the sale of

8. क्षयाहे केवलाः कार्या वृद्धावादी प्रकीर्तिताः ।
अष्टकासु च कर्तव्यं श्राद्धं हेमन्तिकासु वै ॥
अन्वष्टकासु क्रमशो मातृपूर्वं तदिष्यते ।
ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in श्राद्धप्रकाश p. 261.

9. विलयं सर्ववस्तूनां कुर्वन् शूद्रो न दोषभाक् ।
मधु चर्म सुरां लाक्षां त्यक्त्वा मांसं च पञ्चमम् ॥ कालिका पुराण quoted
in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख, Gujarati Printing Press edition, 1940.
p. 227.

lavaṇa, maḍhu etc. is prohibited in the case of all the castes. Thus is a negative rule. But an only exception to this negative rule is that, with the exception of all the five articles enumerated above, Śūdras are permitted to sell all other articles. Thus owing to this Pratiprasava, all the articles which are generally prohibited, are permitted for sale in the case of a Śūdra even when there is no difficulty. In the case of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, there is no scope for the employment of the principle of Pratiprasava, because Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas cannot sell all the things in a nāpadi.

VI. The principle of Punarvacana is also found utilised by Nīlakaṇṭha in his Samaya Mayūkha. While discussing the specific acts prohibited on the specific days, Nīlakaṇṭha quotes a stanza¹⁰ from the Vāmana Purāṇa. This stanza prohibits the abhyāṅga snāna on the nandā tithi which falls on the 1st, 6th and 11th of each fortnight. He further quotes the texts of Vyāsa and Gārgi to show that the abhyāṅga snāna is prohibited on the sixth, eighth, Amāvāsyā day and the caturdaśī days of both the fortnights. When the purpose of prohibition is already served by the text of the Vāmana Purāṇa, why is it that this reproduction (Punarvacana) is here? Nīlakaṇṭha refers to the opinion¹¹ of his revered father Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa who holds that the reproduction is made to show the additional fault or sin incurring as a result of the violation of the above rule. This discussion is introduced by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa in his Dvaita-Nirṇaya. The only possible difference that can perhaps be pointed out on the part of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa and Nīlakaṇṭha is that the former treats the second prohibition as a case of special Niṣedha, while the latter treats this as a mixed case of Niṣedha and Punarvacana. This difference is already pointed out by the present author in his paper¹²

10. नन्दासु नाम्यङ्गमुपाचरेत् क्षौरं च रिक्तासु जयासु मांसम् ।
पूर्णासु योषित्परिवर्जनीया भद्रासु सर्वाणि समारभेत् ॥

वामनपुराण quoted in the समयमयूख p. 178.

11. अत्र नन्दादिनिषेधादेव षष्ठीनिषेधे सिद्धे पुनस्तद्ग्रहणं दोषाधिक्यार्थमिति द्वैतनिर्णये तातचरणाः ibid. p. 178.
12. Also see J. U. B. Vol. XLIII. LV. pp. 37-57. Nos. 79 and 80, 1975-76 (to be published.)

'Nilakaṇṭha's indebtedness to Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa' contributed to the Journal of the University of Bombay. Here incidentally it may be noted that the principle of Punarvacana is utilised in the Dharma-Śāstra literature to show stress or prominence to the restated text in a particular context.

VII. The principles of restriction (Niyama) and exclusion (Parisamkhyā) are also utilised by the writers on Dharma Śāstra literature for interpreting the paurāṇic texts. While discussing the topic of Piṇḍadāna, Nilakaṇṭha quotes a line¹³ from the Vāyu Purāṇa. This line means that a wise man should offer the rice-balls mixed with honey, ghee and sesamum. While commenting on this line, Nilakaṇṭha says that even though Niyama is to be understood with reference to honey, ghee, oil, yet this Niyama (restriction) is not to be understood¹⁴ with the offering of honey in the Kali age. So Niyama with reference to the offering of honey and ghee was possible only in the first three yugas. This discussion takes place in the Śrāddha Mayūkha p. 97.

While discussing the mode of worship to be followed by women, Nilakaṇṭha quotes a line¹⁵ from the Skanda Purāṇa. It states that women should utter the line शिवाय नमः। Here the word 'e v a' occurs in the text of the Skanda Purāṇa. Nilakaṇṭha in his comments¹⁶ on this text says that this is a case of Parisamkhyā (Exclusion) and thereby brings out that the use of Praṇavayukta mantra is excluded in the case of women. It is interesting to note that Nilakaṇṭha supports this mode of interpretation by quoting the text of Nṛsimhatāpanīya in support. This discussion takes place in the Ācāra Mayūkha p. 93.

VIII. The principle of option (Vikalpa) either based on the sweet will of the person or the particular arrangement or the usage also has a part to play in the interpretation of the paurāṇic texts. While discussing the topic of the Nitya Śrāddha, the question

13. मधुसर्पिस्तिलयुतान्त्रीन्पिण्डान् निर्वपेद्बुधः । वायुपुराण quoted in
श्राद्धमयूख p. 97

14. वस्तुतस्तु त्रयनियमेषु कलौ मधु न देयम् । Ibid p. 97

15. नमोन्तेन शिवेनैव स्त्रीणां पूजा विधीयते । स्कन्दपुराण quoted in
आचारमयूख p. 93

16. नमोन्तेन शिवेनैव ... एवकारः प्रणवपरिसंख्यार्थः । आचारमयूख p. 93
Gujarati Printing Press edition, 1915.

arises whether the brahmins should be given Dakṣiṇā or not. Here Nīlakaṇṭha quotes the verse¹⁷ from the Brahmanḍa Purāṇa which prohibits the giving of fees. In this context, Nīlakaṇṭha also quotes the line¹⁸ from the Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa and the Devala Smṛti allowing the giving of the fees. Thus as both the paurāṇic texts are diametrically opposed to each other, Nīlakaṇṭha suggests the principle of Option only to remove the contradiction in the present case. We also get the example of the Vyavasthita Vikalpa in the Dāna Mayūkha p. 29.

IX. The principle of Atideśa also plays an important part in interpreting the paurāṇic texts. Atideśa means the transfer of the details of the prakṛti to the vikṛti. Nīlakaṇṭha in his Prāyaścitta Mayūkha has introduced the threefold varieties of Atideśa-Sāmya, Tādrūpya and Vācanika. The Tādrūpya Atideśa is based on the sameness or identity. The principle of this Tādrūpya Atideśa is also found utilised in the grammatical works.¹⁹ While discussing the expiation for a Śūdra person who has drunk the milk of the Kapilā cow, Nīlakaṇṭha quotes a line from the Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa I. 17.51. Here Cyavana calls such a drinker of the milk of Kapilā cow as Brahmahā i e. the killer of a brahmin. This identification amounts to the Tādrūpya Atideśa. According to Nīlakaṇṭha, in the case of a Tādrūpya Atideśa, the 1/4th details of the Prakṛti (original case) to the Vikṛti (extended case) are dropped. If, however, the expiation of 12 years is prescribed for a brahmin-killer, then for such a Śūdra who has drunk the milk of the Kapilā cow, the expiation should last only for 9 years. This discussion takes places in the Prāyaścitta Mayūkha. p. 110.

X. The principle of Arthavāda is also an important one in the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. We get the example of the condemnatory Arthavāda in the Śrāddha Mayūkha. Here Nīlakaṇṭha quotes a text²⁰

17. मध्याह्ने वेदविदुषे दक्षिणापिण्डवर्जितम् ।

नित्यश्राद्धे ततो दद्यात् भुङ्क्ते यत्स्वयमेव हि ॥

ब्रह्माण्डपुराण quoted in श्रा० म० p. 15 .

18. प्रदद्यादक्षिणां शक्त्या नमस्कारैर्विसर्जयेत् ।

भविष्योत्तर quoted Ibid., p. 156.

19. बालमनोरमा p. 79. Motilal Banarsidass edition, 1949

20. त्रयोदश्यां तु वै श्राद्धं न कुर्यात्पुत्रवान् गृही ।

वामनपुराण quoted in श्राद्धमयूख p. 21.

from the Vāmana Purāṇa and the text of Aṅgīras to show that a person having a son should not perform the Śrāddha on the Kṛṣṇatrayodaśī day; otherwise the death of the eldest son may take place. Here the fruit is simply mentioned to prohibit a person from performing the Śrāddha on the Kṛṣṇatrayodaśī day. We also get the example of Arthavāda in the Śrāddha Mayūkha on p. 133 in interpreting the text of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

XI. The principle of Bādha is also very important in the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. By the principle of Bādha, the scope of the general text is sublated by the particular text. Here the powerful authority annuls the scope of the weaker authority. While discussing the topic of the persons entitled to perform the Śrāddha ceremony, Nilakaṇṭha quotes a verse from some smṛti. This verse means that in the absence of the son, the wife of the deceased person is entitled to perform the Śrāddha ceremony. This, however, is a general text. Nilakaṇṭha further quotes a verse²¹ from the Vāyu Purāṇa which lays down that even if the son has gone abroad on a journey, and his whereabouts are not known, yet he alone is entitled to perform the Śrāddha ceremony. This, however, is a particular text. Nilakaṇṭha holds that here the scope of the general text is annulled or set aside by the particular text. This discussion takes place in the Śrāddha Mayūkha.

XII. It may be pointed out that the paurāṇic texts also serve the purpose of the Dharma-Śāstra authors in interpreting the text of the Dharma-Śāstra by resorting to Mīmāṃsā doctrines. Mitramiśra in his comments on the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti III. 22. 225 points out that by the word 'tathā' occurring in this text, one should understand the combination of the hells already enumerated in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. Though it is true that Mitramiśra has not quoted here the passages from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa in the present context, yet it must be born in mind that the paurāṇic text has become fruitful to Mitramiśra in interpreting the text of the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti from the point of view of Samuccaya i. e. combination. This point is already discussed by the present author elsewhere.²²

21. श्राद्धानि षोडशादत्त्वा कुर्यान्न तु सपिण्डनम् ।

प्रोषितावसिने पुत्रः कालादपि चिरादपि ॥

वायुपुराण quoted in श्राद्धमयूख p. 37.

22. A. B. O. R. I. Vol. LI. 1971, pp. 83-92.

From the foregoing discussion, it is quite evident that the authors of the Dharma-Śāstra literature have employed the doctrines of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā system for interpreting the texts of the Purāṇas. At times, it is evident that the authors of the Purāṇas are quite conscious of the use of some of the principles of interpretation, though they have not expressly used such principles. The authors of the Dharma-Śāstra literature like Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, Mitramiśra, Nīlakaṇṭha and others have employed all the Mīmāṃsā technical terms for interpreting the paurāṇic texts. The popular maxims and Mīmāṃsā maxims also are profusely employed by the writers on Dharma-Śāstra for interpreting the paurāṇic texts. It is also observed at some places that the paurāṇic texts serve the purpose of the writers on Dharma-Śāstra for interpreting the texts of Dharma-Śāstra from the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā point of view. It is further clear that Rāmānujācārya, the author of the Vedārthasaṃgraha has not taken into account or ignored the vast Dharma-Śāstra literature particularly when he states that all the Purāṇas are to be so interpreted that they should not be in conflict with the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. Any critical student of the Purāṇas and Dharma-Śāstra can hardly gainsay the significant contribution of the authors of Dharma-Śāstra literature in interpreting the incidentally quoted paurāṇic texts by resorting to the Mīmāṃsā technical terms, laukika and Mīmāṃsā maxims and also the Sūtras of Jaimini in the body of the text of Dharma-Śāstra.

VIRAJĀ KṢETRA MĀHĀTMYA OF BRAHMĀṆḌA PURĀṆA: A SURVEY

BY

U. N. DHAL

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे ब्रह्माण्डपुराणान्तर्गतपरिगणितस्य विरजा-
क्षेत्रमाहात्म्यस्य विवेचनं कृतम् । विरजाक्षेत्रं तु उत्कलप्रदेशान्तर्गत-
कटकजनपदे वर्तते । क्षेत्रमिदमतिप्राचीनं प्रसिद्धं च वर्तते । अस्य
वर्णनं महाभारते अन्यपुराणेषु तीर्थवर्णनप्रसङ्गे वर्तते । इदं तीर्थं
वैतरणीनदीतटे वर्तते । लेखकमहोदयस्य मतानुसारमिदं तीर्थं जगन्नाथ-
पुर्याः लिङ्गराजस्य च अपेक्षया प्राचीनतरं वर्तते । तीर्थस्योल्लेखः
ब्रह्मवायुपुराणयोरपि वर्तते । 'विरजाक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यं इति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धे
ग्रन्थे क्षेत्रस्य विस्तृतं वर्णनं माहात्म्यं च वर्तते । प्रतीयते यद् ग्रन्थोऽयं
परवर्तिनिकाले निर्मितः माहात्म्यसंवर्धनार्थं च ब्रह्माण्डपुराणेन सह संबद्धः ।
यथा अन्यानि क्षेत्रमाहात्म्यानि वर्तते तथैव अयमपि ग्रन्थः क्षेत्रमाहात्म्य-
स्थापकः एव । अस्य ग्रन्थस्य विषयाणां परिचयः संक्षेपेण लेखकेन
प्रस्तुतः । इतरप्रमाणानामाधारेणापि क्षेत्रस्य परिचयः प्रदत्तः ।]

The Virajā Kṣetra (Yājapura) is situated on the bank of the river Vaitaraṇī in the district of Cuttack, Orissa. According to old tradition it was famous for the goddess Virajā, lord Varāha, the Vedic traditions, Vaidika Brahmins (Virajā Pandās and Vaitaraṇī Pandās) and the river Vaitaraṇī¹. The Vedic tradition has fallen into disuse and the ancestry of those Brahmins is in a state of ruin; but the old divinities like Virajā and Varāha and the river Vaitaraṇī are still there to attract thousands of pilgrims all over India.

The Kṣetra is named after the goddess Virajā, the presiding deity of the place. The goddess attained great fame and prominence long before lord Jagannātha and Liṅgarāja came into picture. The earliest epigraphical record of Virajā Kṣetra is the Parlaki-medi plates of Śrī Pṛthivī Mahārāja², which goes back to the

1. *Varāha Virajā Vedāḥ Viprah Vaitaraṇī Nadī / Kṣetre Nivasatām Skanda Vakārāḥ Pañcadurlabhāḥ* //
2. S. N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Berhampur 1958 (1st plate 2nd side.)

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later part of the sixth century A. D., states :

Svasti Śrī Vijaya Skandhāvārāt Virajanagarādhivāsakāt

The Soro plates of Bhanudatta³ of the seventh century A. D. also bears testimony to it :

*Om Svasti Śrī Virajavāsakān Mahāpratihāra Mahārāja
Bhanudattaḥ Kuśali.*

During the Bhauma rule (Circa 650 to 830 A. D.) in Orissa extending from the Mahendra mountain in the south to the river Ganges in the north Virajānagara was their capital. The Bada-Khimeri plates of Jayavarman Deva (later part of the seventh century) states that it was the capital of Bhauma sovereign Unmatta Keśari⁴. Thus different epigraphical records point to its existence by the seventh century A. D.

The earliest literary reference to the Virajā Kṣetra is found in the Āraṇyaka Parvan of the Mahābhārata. Though the description of the forest life of the Pāṇḍavas forms the topic of the Āraṇyaka Parvan, the narration of their life-history plays an insignificant role; but the great extent of this parvan has been made up due to the inclusion of the episodes of diverse kind. In addition to the stories of the ancient kings, sages and virtuous women etc. it contains description of the journey of Pāṇḍavas to different places of pilgrimage (tīrthayātrā). In the enumeration of different sacred fords (tīrthas), the river Vaitaraṇī and the Virajā Kṣetra on its bank occupy no less a significant place in the hierarchy of tīrthas ;

tato Vaitaraṇīm gatvā nadīm pāpāpramocanīm |

Virajāṁ tīrtham āśādy virājate yathā śaśī ||

Mahābhārata (Cr. Edn.) 3, 83, 6.

The text portion of the parvan has been alleged to be of later interpolation to the original but in order to justify its genuineness it has rightly been pointed out by V. S. Sukthankar⁵ that

3. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 203-4.

4. Pt. Vinayaka Mishra, 'Ganjam Grant' of Jayavarmadeva of Unmatta Keśari's time', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII. pp. 489-93.

5. *The Mahābhārata*, Vol. 3, Ed. V. S. Sukthankar, Poona, 1942, Introduction pp. XIII-XIV.

the episodic material in the Āraṇyaka Parvan belongs to the original plan and serves a distinct purpose. Like Homer introducing dialogues and episodic stories to conceal the flowing times without noteworthy events, the description of the places of pilgrimage was introduced by the composer of the Mahābhārata to patch up the gap of the interval of twelve years of exile of Pāṇḍavas in the forest and others. It is evident that prior to the composition of this text the Kṣetra must have attained prominence and due to its popularity it has been given due importance with other tīrthas.

Among the earlier Purāṇas, the Brahma Purāṇa⁶ (Ch. 42, 1-12) contains the description of Virajā tīrtha, the divinity Virajā and their holiness. Like Brahma Purāṇa, in the later part (Uttarārdha) of Vāyu Purāṇa⁷ (Chs. 107-15) we come across the description of the Gayā Mahātmya; in the enumeration of sacred places of India, the Virajā Kṣetra, Nābhikūpa (presently called Nābhigayā) and the river Vaitaraṇī are included. Thus we find the occurrence of Virajā Kṣetra in different ancient texts.

Besides the sporadic reference to this Kṣetra there is a separate treatise namely Virajā Kṣetra Māhātmya consisting of twenty-nine chapters, which claims to belong to the Uttarakhanda (i. e. last section) of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. The colophon of the text reads : *iti śrī Brahmāṇḍapurāṇe Uttarakhande Virajo Mahātmye śāneśvarotpatir nāma prathamod dhyāyah*. The Virajā Kṣetra Mahātmya, the glorification of the place sacred to the goddess Virajā, frequently appears in manuscripts as an independent text. It is preserved in the Orissa State Museum (catalogue No. P/26) in the form of Palm leaf manuscript and other copies might be lying with different individuals. The Oriya translation of this text was published by late N. C. Mahapatra of Yājapura. The present paper is based on the above manuscripts.

The extant Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa⁸ consists of four sections, viz:
1. Prakriyā pāda, 2. Anuṣaṅga pāda, 3. Upodghāta pāda,

6. *Brahma Purāṇa*, Ed. H. N. Apte, A. S. S., 28, Poona 1895. The Virajā Kṣetra served as the northern boundary of Odra Deśa which was situated on the shores of the southern ocean and extends towards the north till Virajā maṇḍala. (Ch. 28, 1-2).

7. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Veṅkateshwar Press, Bombay, II, 43, 22; II, 44, 41. ff.

8. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Veṅkateshwar Press, Bombay and Motilal Banarasidass, New Delhi, 1973.

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and 4. Upasamhāra pāda. In the printed editions to the fourth pada is appended the Lalitopākhyāna in forty chapters. Like Gayā Māhātmya of Vāyu Purāṇa, Mathurā Māhātmya of Varāha Purāṇa, Devī Māhātmya of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, the Virajā Kṣetra Māhātmya is considered as a part of Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. In the past numerous Māhātmyas were composed and used by the temple priests for the glorification of the deities whom they served. Later on the bulk of the Māhātmyas increased and the recommendation of the temples and places of pilgrimage on which the priests depended for their livelihood were inserted into it. Thus various Kṣetra Māhātmyas evolved. Likewise the Virajā Kṣetra Māhātmya was composed and ascribed to Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, but on the whole it appears to be of later origin. From the earlier citations it is made clear that the Virajā nagara had its existence prior to the composition of the Āraṇyaka Parvan of Mahābhārata and before the sixth century A. D. So the treatise must have been composed by the temple priests during this period or after this and has been preserved in the manuscript form up till now. An attempt has been made to give a short resume of the Māhātmya to form a clear idea of it.

At the very outset we are told that Bhrūgi, a devotee of Śiva, asked Skanda to know the secret Kṣetra of Śiva, which was revealed to the noble-minded ones only. Consequently Skanda spoke out about the Kṣetra as he had heard from Nandi.

Beside the southern ocean there is a mountain called Nila, which is the favourite abode of Viṣṇu; the land stretching twelve yojanas towards its north is divided into four Kṣetras viz., 1. Vaiṣṇava Kṣetra (Puri), 2. Saura Kṣetra (Koṇārka), 3. Śaiva Kṣetra (Bhubaneswar), 4. Brahma Kṣetra (Yājapura). Brahmā performed a sacrifice at Yājapura on a large scale and requested Śiva to sanctify the Kṣetra by his presence. Śiva in the form of Iśāneśvara originated from the sacrifice. As the true consort of Śiva Pārvatī appeared from that fire altar, called Gārhapatya Kuṇḍa, situated on the south-west of Iśāneśvara, Brahmā eulogized her with praises and prayers; she was pleased with Brahmā and assured him to remain there in the form of Virajā. She created nine forms of Durgā, who adorned the Kṣetra glorified by her presence (Chs. 1-2).

Viṣṇu attended the sacrifice performed by Brahmā and was pleased with his entreaty to dwell in that Kṣetra established by him. When Viṣṇu was in meditative posture beside the altar twelve forms of Mādhava appeared from his body and dwelt in that Kṣetra for ever. The Kṣetra is triangular in size—*tryasrākāram idaṁ Kṣetram Virajo nāma Vedhasaḥ* (Ch. 3, 39). On the southern end of it stands Varuṇeśva a and the eastern end is represented by Kilalāteśvara. The rivers Svara and Kuśa flow besides the north and south of Varuṇeśvara. In order to gain the power of composing Dharma-śāstras, the sage Śatātapa underwent austerities for twelve years and worshipped Śiva in the form of Kilalāteśvara and in commemoration of it stands there the image in that name and fame. The river Vaitaraṇī flows towards the west of it (Ch. 3).

This Kṣetra extends five krośas in length and breadth. Out of this in the first three krośas dwell Śiva, Viṣṇu and Virajā (Pārvaṭī). In this Kṣetra we find eight pīthas for Caṇḍikās, four pīthas for Bhairavas; in addition to the above we come across thirteen Rudras, twelve Mādhavas, sixty-eight tīrthas, three caves for Siddhas, seven mountains, three rivers with seven tributaries. There is the Antargṛha 'mystic residence' of Śiva (in the precinct of the temple of Virajā). Due to the glorious presence of Trilocaneśvara in the Antargṛha the place is so sanctified that even his very sight bestows godhood to human beings. Those who desire to circumambulate this mystic place should observe fast on the dark trayodaśī day in the month of Māgha or Vaiśākha; on the Caturdaśī day one should take bath in the river Vaitaraṇī and visit the divinities like Śānteśvarī, Nīlākṣī, Koṭaviśvarī etc; then one should meet Siddheśvarī in the campus of the Virajā temple, whereby one would be able to attain heaven. (Ch. 4).

In course of conversation Śiva enumerated the thirteen Rudras who encircle the Antargṛha (also called Mṛtyuñjaya tīrtha), they are :—1. Kaśyapeśvara, 2. Harikeśeśvara, 3. Gaṅgeśvara, 4. Kikaśeśvara, 5. Bhārabhūteśvara, 6. Vaidyanātheśvara, 7. Mukteśvara, 8. Gokaṇṇeśvara, 9. Haṭakeśvara, 10. Mārkaṇḍeśvara, 11. Apsareśvara, 12. Citragupteśvara and 13. Kapileśvara; the very sight of these Liṅgas brings the results of crores of sacrifices. (Ch. 5-7).

The twelve Mādhavas originated from Viṣṇu, when he was in meditation beside the fire altar of Brahmā in Virajā Kṣetra. Due

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to their grace Śiva attained the status of Bhūtapati and became invincible in war. The names of those twelve Mādhavas are enumerated thus : 1. Ādi-Mādhava, 2. Varāha-Mādhava, 3. Lakṣmī-Mādhava, 4. Ananta-Mādhava, 5. Gadādhara Mādhava, 6. Puruṣottama-Mādhava, 7. Narakāntaka-Mādhava, 8. Bhoga-Mādhava, 9. Vāsudeva-Mādhava, 10. Campaka-Mādhava, 11. Harihara-Mādhava and 12. Siddha-Mādhava. The Śukla Ekādaśī (Govinda Ekādaśī) day of Phālguna is sacred to them. Those, who take their ablution in the river Vaitaraṇī on that day and visit those images attain the state of Mādhava-hood and live in Vaikuṇṭha after death. (Ch. 8).

In order to satisfy the curiosity of Pārvatī, Śiva began to relate the legend of the origin of the Varāha-Mādhava thus : There was a mountain named Maṇicūḍa on the northern bank of the river Vaitaraṇī. The mountain was inhabited by the Śabaras and Kīrātas and there was a dense forest named Bilvasundarī beside the western side of the mountain. Once the sage Dirghatapā was observing penance beside the river Kauśikī, a young prince reached there in pursuit of wild animals. When the sage heard the heart-rending cry of the wild beasts due to the vigorous attack of the prince, he was moved with pity and approached the prince and cursed him to be born in a Kīrāta family because of his cruel attitude towards the innocent wild animals. When the prince realised his fault, he apologized before the sage. Due to his earnest request the sage was pleased to relax the curse and assured him to attain liberation in that birth through divine knowledge. Consequently the prince was born as Bicitradhanvā in the family of the Śabara, Citreṣu. When he attained youth and was roaming in the forest relinquishing the desire for hunting, a ferocious Varāha attacked him; as a result he was forced to defend himself by chasing it. Due to his attack when the Varāha climbed the Maṇicūḍa mountain, it stooped down and down till it reached the nether region. When the prince found the Varāha in a Divine form before him, he began to eulogize him as the avatāra of Viṣṇu. The Varāha was extremely pleased with the prince and transformed into the four-armed form of Viṣṇu. Then Bicitradhanvā appealed him to sanctify that place by his presence; as a token of favour Viṣṇu remains there in the form of Varāha and continues to bless his devotees and Bicitradhanvā attained liberation after death. (Ch. 9).

The Ākhaṇḍaleśvara liṅga was established beside the northern bank of the river Vaitaraṇī on the south of Varāha-Mādhava. The legend of its origin runs thus : When Indra was found guilty on the charge of incest of Ahalyā, the wife of the sage Gautama, he was cursed by the sage. Indra was anxious to be delivered from the curse. The eight Vasus advised him to propitiate the lord Hara for it. So Indra went out in search of a place, sacred to Śiva. He visited Puṣkara and other tīrthas and ultimately came to Virajā Kṣetra on the bank of the river Vaitaraṇī and thought it to be the suitable place for the purpose. Then Indra took his bath in the river Vaitaraṇī and offered due prayers to Varāha-Mādhava, selected a beautiful place towards the south of Varāha-Mādhava and started his penance. Prabhāsa, the eight Vasu descended from heaven and brought the Ganges of heaven to sanctify the place of penance of Indra. Being pleased with his severe austerities Śiva appeared before him on his carrier bull. Indra was elated due to the presence of Śiva and besought for release from such curse. Thus Indra was expiated from the curse; but due to his supplication Śiva remains there in the form of Ākhaṇḍaleśvara (named after Indra) and the area is well-known as Prabhāsa-tīrtha. Those who take their bath on the bright fourteenth day of Caitra and visit the Ākhaṇḍaleśvara, acquire the result of ten horse sacrifices (Ch. 10).

In order to impress upon the significance of the Banyan tree beside the river Madgurekhā, Śiva said to Pārvatī in the following manner: when Tripurāsura oppressed the gods, they wanted to punish him, but all their attempts failed. Last of all they approached Śiva to come to their rescue; they turned mount Meru as the bow, the snake Vāsuki as the bow-string, Agni served as the arrows and the army; the moon turned into the śalya and lord Viṣṇu helped them in the form of a sharpening instrument. Thus armed Śiva went out for an expedition against Tripurāsura. While proceeding on the way the wheels of the chariot of Śiva broke down; so Śiva remembered Dharma, who appeared before him in the shape of a bull. Śiva rode on it and fought against the demon Tripurāsura and won in the battle. From that day onwards Dharma remains with him as his Vāhana, the bull. After some days when Dharma felt proud because of his help to Śiva, he became angry and reduced his power to nothing. When Dharma was humiliated thus, he realised his fault and wanted to supplicate

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Śiva for it. So he searched for Śiva throughout India and at last he reached Virajā Kṣetra. He offered worship to Varāha-Mādhava and Virajā and continued penance for hundreds of years, as a result he turned into a Banyan tree on whose branches all the divinities dwelt. At last Śiva was pleased with him and released him from such a pitiable state. So the Banyan tree in the Virajā Kṣetra is so auspicious. (Ch. 11).

The glory of the river Vaitaraṇī, which flows beside the Virajā Kṣetra is extolled in the following manner. The Ganges who was brought down by Bhagiratha assumes the form of Vaitaraṇī. It flows in between Hara and Varāha. The Ganges of heaven which descended on earth for the purification of Indra at the call of Prabhāsa, remained beside the southern bank of the river. Due to the terrible pressure of the Mahāvarāha, the mountain Maṇicūḍa went down and the Ganges of the underworld appeared instead; the place of appearance of this stream is known as Kroḍatīrtha. As all these holy streams assemble in the river Vaitaraṇī, it is made sacred. In this holy stream also join Trijāṭā and Begavatī and the confluence is known as Triveṇī tīrtha. The river Trijāṭā is dear to Śiva, Begavatī is dear to Brahmā and Vaitaraṇī is dear to Viṣṇu. A bath in the Triveṇī tīrtha removes all types of sins and confers enough of merit (Ch. 12-15).

Bharata, a scion of Somavamśa, wanted to achieve sovereign power over the world. So he performed penance in different tīrthas of India but could not achieve his end. Last of all he met the sage Agastya, who described before him the importance of Śiva and advised him to worship Śiva in the Virajā Kṣetra which is his favourite abode. Indra also sent him message in the equal manner. Thus advised Bharata underwent rigorous austerities on the eastern bank of the river Vaitaraṇī where we find Siddheśvara and Jāteśvara Śivaliṅgas established by Bharata (Ch. 13).

The eight forms of Śiva are represented through eight Śivaliṅgas here. The Sun, the Moon, the Fire, the Air, the Sky, the Water and the Yajamāna are his eight forms. The eight forms of Śiva are represented there where there are clusters of eight Svayambhuliṅgas in one place. In the Virajā Kṣetra such forms are found. They are : 1. Trilocana (the form of the Sun), 2. Tilakeśvara (the form of sky), 3. Prāṇāyameśvara also named as Garteśvara or Gosahasreśvara (the form of air), 4. Īśāneśvara (the form of water),

5. Ākhaṇḍaleśvara (the form of earth), 6. Siddheśvara (the form of fire). The eight Digpālas, eight Grahas, eight Aiśvaryas and the eight Vasus are manifestations of eight forms of Śiva. (Ch. 14).

The Nābhi Gayā tīrtha is located very close to the goddess Virajā. The story behind the formation of this tīrtha runs thus: Gayāsura was a powerful demon and was very pious and brave. He performed severe austerities. Gods, tormented by his austerities, approached Bṛhaspati who took them to Viṣṇu and Śiva. Viṣṇu went to him and extolled him for his austerities and asked Gayāsura to give his pure body for the purpose of sacrifice. Gayāsura agreed on condition that the places where his head, feet and navel would fall at the time of death would be turned into the best tīrthas on earth and those who would offer piṇḍa to their pitṛs there would release them from the torture of hell. Gayāsura fell down on the earth with his head towards the north on Kolahala mountain (U. P.) and feet to the south on the Mahendra mountain (Orissa) and his navel at Yājapur (Orissa). Gayā tīrtha near the river Phalgu in Magadha country is sacred due to the fall of his head there; the Mahendra mountain is famous as pitṛ tīrtha, where Paraśurāma and other sages live. And the navel fell in the place, which later on was renowned as Virajā Kṣetra, where Pārvatī performed penance to attain immortality; it is also called Mṛtyuñjaya tīrtha. Goddess Virajā gets due adoration beside that navel pit (known as Nābhigayā) (Ch. 17-18).

Candreśvara is reckoned as one of the eight forms of Śiva. The myth of the formation of Candreśvara runs as follows : Tārā, the wife of Bṛhaspati was extremely beautiful. Once Candra saw her and fell in love with her. Because of her illicit connection with Candra for a long time she conceived and gave birth to Budha, but Bṛhaspati accepted him as his son not knowing that he was born of Candra. When Candra claimed Budha as his son, there was dispute between them, at last Brahmā was approached to settle up their dispute. After ascertaining the parenthood of the child Budha was given away to Candra and Candra was elevated to the status of god. Bṛhaspati could not tolerate it and cursed Candra to lose his divinity. With the advice of Atri, Candra went to Virajā Kṣetra to get rid of it. The Śivaliṅga worshipped by Candra later on was designated as Candreśvara.

There is a legend as to the origin of Subhadrā, the sister of Jagannātha (Puroṣottama at Puri). Once there was a feud between

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Brahmā and Nṛsiṃha as to their superiority or greatness. They approached Śiva to settle the dispute. Śiva asked them to go round, whosever covers him earlier would be regarded superior. Nṛsiṃha went round his feet and covered upto his thighs with much difficulty and was sure that nobody would be successful in such attempt; so he refrained from it. Brahmā, on the other hand, went upto Śiva's head and met Ketakī (flower deified) on his matted locks who told him that it took her six months to reach his forehead. Brahmā was disappointed at this and persuaded her to bear false witness to his journey round Śiva, but when Śiva came to know Brahmā's trick he cursed him to be born as a female divinity named Subhadrā on earth (in Orissa) along with Viṣṇu as Jagannātha and Śiva would take the form of Balabhadra and would get due adoration on the mountain Nilasundara (presently at Puri).

There are two other legends about the rebirth of Brahmā in the form of Gaṇeśa. Sanatkumāra was one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā; he was indifferent towards the worldly enjoyments and did not create beings according to the desire of his father but continued penance. Brahmā did not like such attitude of his son and blamed him seriously. Sanatkumāra became furious at this and cursed him to be beheaded by Lord Śiva. So Brahmā developed five heads like Śiva to retaliate his son's curse; but Śiva was enraged and wanted to kill him. When Śiva appeared before Brahmā he gave him the impression that as he was a Brahmin he was not to be killed. Śiva, then, directed him to recite the Vedas. Brahmā recited four Vedas through his four heads and as he was unable to recite any Veda through the fifth head, it was decapitated. Brahmā became so much angry that the rays emitted through the fifth head encircled Śiva. So Śiva was in trouble and persuaded Brahmā to desist from such rage with the assurance that he would be born as his son. So Brahmā is adored in the form of Gaṇeśa in the Virajā Kṣetra and removes all types of obstacles.

The other myth of Brahmā's birth as Gaṇeśa runs thus. When gods were oppressed by Tāraka they approached Viṣṇu for succour, who advised them to bring about the union of Śiva and Pārvatī so that the son begotten to them would be able to kill that oppressive demon. They did accordingly and after their marriage Śiva and Pārvatī were engaged in amorous affairs for such a long time

that Brahmā and other gods were alarmed. So they sent Agni in the form of a pigeon to know their intention. When Pārvatī was disturbed in her enjoyment due to the presence of Agni, she cursed the gods to be issueless. So the semen discharged by Śiva was preserved by Agni, out of which Skanda-Kārtikeya was born to kill the demon. In order to pacify her anger, Brahmā and other gods wanted a son to be born to Pārvatī who would be able to kill the wicked demon Pātālāsura, who was then creating troubles for the gods. Consequently Brahmā was born as the son of Pārvatī. When Śani cast his glance on the newborn child, Gaṇeśa, he lost his head. So Pārvatī was too much grieved at heart but was reminded of the curse of Sanatkumāra on Brahmā. Śiva knew it before, he immediately ordered his followers to move on different directions and to bring the head of that animal who would be lying in the evening heading towards the south. They found an elephant on the way and brought his head. The elephant's head was joined on his shoulder and the son got back his senses. He was invincible in war and killed the demon Pātālāsura. He is known as Siddha Gaṇeśa and gets due worship in the Virajā Kṣetra. (Ch. 21).

Like the Skanda Purāṇa in this Kṣetra Māhātmya, we find a number of myths to justify the foundation of different Śivaliṅgas. In case of Bilveśvara it is said : once Aditi undertook penance with the hope of getting all the gods as her sons; she continued the austerities for thousands of years and was reduced to skeleton, but could not attain anything. At last Kaśyapa, her husband, came to her and advised her to propitiate Śiva to fulfill her desires. So she selected the southern bank of the river Vaitaraṇī as a suitable place; there she established the image of Śiva and worshipped him with ten thousand Bilva leaves every day and offered due adoration to Vināyaka. Due to her staunch and unflinching devotion Śiva appeared before her and granted her desired boon. And from that day onwards Śiva is adored there as Bilveśvara. (Ch. 22).

Similarly, there is a Śivaliṅga named Brahmeśvara quite close to Nābhigayā. In the Dvāpara age Viṣṇu assumed the avatāra of Kṛṣṇa to kill the wicked demons. Kṛṣṇa used to play with the cowboys and fed the cows on the bank of the river Yamunā. Once Brahmā wanted to test the power of Kṛṣṇa and stole away calves of the cowboys. Kṛṣṇa was away then, when he

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came to know this, he created those calves anew. Brahmā was convinced of his power and was ashamed of his behaviour. In order to appease Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa he performed a sacrifice in the Virajā Kṣetra in a large scale. All the gods and demigods were invited to the sacrifice. Out of that sacrificial pit arose the goddess Virajā; in that kṣetra Brahmā worshipped Śiva in the form of a liṅga which was later on known as Brahmeśvara. Those who take their bath in the Brahmā kuṇḍa and visit Brahmeśvara reach Śivaloka. (Ch. 25-26).

Yameśvara was established by Yama, the son of the Sun. Sañjñā, the wife of the sun, could not tolerate the excessive rays of the Sun. She formed a woman, Chāyā, like herself and left her son Yama and daughter Yamī at her disposal and went for penance without the knowledge of her husband and she requested her not to disclose the secret and to remain as the wife of the Sun. Her father directed her to refrain from such attempt. She left her father and continued her penance. Yama and Yamī were living together. Once Yamī wanted to cohabit with Yama but he refused her as it was not desirable to have such relation with one's uterine sister. When her wish was not fulfilled she cursed him to lose his divinehood. Yama was also enraged with her such behaviour and cursed her to be born as a stream namely Yamunā on earth. The Sun, their father, approved of the conduct of Yama and asked him to worship Śiva to be released from such a curse. So the Śivaliṅga worshipped by Yama for the purpose is known as Yameśvara. Similarly a large number of Śivaliṅgas were established in the Virajā Kṣetra namely Sarveśvara, Dakṣeśvara, Kumāreśvara, Bhṛṅgeśvara, Gaṅgeśvara, Nandikeśvara etc. In addition to these Śivaliṅgas the divinities like Laksmī, Sarasvatī, Garuḍa, Sūrya etc. get due adoration there (Chs. 16, 22-34; 27-29).

A close study of the above treatise reveals the evolution of the religious faith and movement of the region. Primarily it was a Śaktapiṭha; the tutelary deity of the kṣetra was the goddess Virajā (Pārvatī), the consort of Śiva. Besides the image of Virajā we find eight Caṇḍikās and a large number of goddesses such as Siddheśvari, Śānteśvari, Nīlākṣī etc. The influx of Śāktism continued for a pretty long time due to the patronage of monarchs and others. In the next stage the rise of Śaivism is evident. The cause of this change in the faith and belief of the people may be due to the

propagation of Śaivism by the adherents of the faith or change of patrons who had close affinity with Śiva. Thus innumerable number of Śivaliṅgas were established :—*Yatra Śaivāni līṅgāni naikakoṭis-thitāni vai* || (Ch. I, 33). Later on Vaiṣṇavism held sway in the form of Varāha worship and Mādhava cult. Śaivism was subordinated to Vaiṣṇavism and Mādhava was elevated to the status of the highest deity. It is said that Brahmā was able to gain the power of creation due to Mādhava's grace.

teṣāṃ prasādato Brahmā labdhvā jñānabalaṃ Śive |
śṣṭasārvasya jagataḥ padyaṃ satyaṃ samāśritaḥ || Ch 8, 9.

and Śiva was elevated to the status of Bhūtapati and was endowed with extraordinary power due to the blessings of Mādhava—

Sarveṣāṃ api bhūtānāṃ patir ūrjitavikramaḥ |
aprameyamahimā tu samārādhyāḥ sudhābhujāṃ ||
 Ch. 8, 11.

Though the Kṣetra has witnessed the rise and fall of different cults and sects, the old relics are still lying side by side with the new ones to remind its various phases of change.

THE HOLY PLACES OF SOUTH INDIA AS DEPICTED IN THE SKANDA PURĀṆA*

By

UMAKANT THAKUR

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे त्रिदुषा लेखकेन स्कन्दपुराणे वर्णितानां दक्षिणभारतस्थतीर्थानां परिचयः प्रदत्तः । तेषां तीर्थानां सांप्रतिक-स्थितिनामादिनिर्देशोऽपि कृतः । लेखकेन एतद्विषये आधुनिकविदुषां मतान्यपि परीक्षितानि ।]

Ādityeśvara : It is known also as Bhāskara-tīrtha¹ or Ravi tīrtha. According to the Sk. P. it is situated on the north bank of the river Revā. The Matsya Purāṇa 191.5², however, refers to one Ādityeśa located at the Narmadā. To me both of them seem to be identical as the Narmadā is identical with the Revā.

Āditya tīrtha : According to the Sk. P.³ this tīrtha stand in the vicinity of the Agni tīrtha at the river Revā. It is said to be the destroyer of all sins.

Āgastyā tīrtha : This is a pond situated to the south of Śoṇādrī. It is further described as one of the twenty-four sub-tīrthas of Setu.⁴

Āgastī tīrtha : This reservoir is located on the mount Gandhamādana⁵. It is said to have been established by the sage Agasta.

Āgastyeśvara : The temple of Agastyeśvara is situated on the bank of the Narmadā⁶. The worship of this image with ghṛe on the 14th day of the first half of Kārtika has been highly praised. As to the location of this shrine the Matsya P.⁷ also agrees with the Sk. P.

* This article is in continuation of a series of articles written by the same author on this topic, the latest of which was published in *Purāṇa*, XIX. 1, p. 41 ff.

1. Sk. Ava. Revā. 153.25
2. Ref. by Dr. Kane, Hist. Dhs. IV. 730
3. Sk. Ava. Revā. 34.1
4. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 2. 104-111
5. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 16. 1-13
6. Sk. Ava. Revā. 64. 1-3
7. Hist. Dhs. IV. 730

Agneya tīrtha : It is situated to the south-west of mt. Śoṇa⁸, where Agni is said to have bathed.

Agni tīrtha : This is one the twenty-four shrines under Setu.⁹ It is said to have been located on the mount Gandhamādana far from the Lakṣmī tīrtha. It is held that Rāma went to the Gandhamādana Parvata¹⁰, by the way of Setu for purifying Sītā where he invoked the Fire (Agni). Since then Gandhamādana Parvata is called Agni tīrtha. This mountain is not identical with that of the other Purāṇas as referred to by Dr. Kane¹¹. It is further mentioned as a reservoir situated at the holy river Narmadā. A bath in this reservoir is said to absolve all sins.¹²

Ahalyāsara : This is the lake on the bank of which the great Liṅga Gautameśvara¹³ stands. It is narrated that the sage Gautama practised asceticism in the Koṭi tīrtha (q. v.)¹⁴ and established a phallus there on the Ahalyāsara which was called Gautameśvara. Dr. Kane¹⁵ mentions one Ahalyā Hrada and locates it near the hermitage of Gautama

Ahalyeśvara : This shrine is situated at the Narmadā, where Ahalyā¹⁶, the wife of Gautama, observed penance.

Ākāśagaṅgāsara : This is a lake on Veṅkaṭācala (q. v.)¹⁷. Veṅkaṭācala is identical with Veṅkaṭagiri¹⁸, which has been identified with the Tirumalai mountain near Tirupati in the north Arcot district, about seventy-two miles to the north-west of Madras.

Ākāśagaṅgā tīrtha : This shrine is situated on the Veṅkaṭācala. Rāmānuja, the devotee of Viṣṇu, is said to have dwelt near the shrine¹⁹. It finds mention in the other Purāṇas also but they are not identical with each other²⁰.

8. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. P. 6. 112
9. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 2. 108
10. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 22. 1-26
11. Hist. Dhs. IV. 731
12. Sk. Ava. Revā. 127. 1-2 ff
13. Sk. Ma. Kau. 52. 25 and 30
14. Sk. Ma. Kau. 52. 23
15. Hist. Dhs. IV. 731
16. Sk. Ava. Revā. 136. 1-16
17. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 1. 71
18. Hist. Geog. 201
19. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 21.1-2 ff
20. Hist. Dhs. IV. 731

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Ākāśarājanagarī : This is a place of pilgrimage at Veṅkaṭācala.²¹

Ālikā tīrtha : This shrine is situated on the north bank of the Narmadā. It is named after a Gāndharvī named Ālikā, the grand daughter of Citrasena.²²

Amaleśvara tīrtha : This is said to be the most excellent place of pilgrimage at Narmadā.²³

Amareśasthāna : This is the place of pilgrimage under Naimiṣa-kṣetra (q. v.). There stand the God Oṃkāra and Goddess Caṇḍikā²⁴. Amareśa of the Matsya P. (186.2) and Liṅga P. (I.92.37) are not identical with it²⁵. Mr. Dey²⁶ locates Amareśvara on the opposite side of Oṃkāranātha on the southern bank of the river Narmadā, thirty-two miles north-west of Khāṇḍava and eleven miles east of Martoka Railway station.

Āṅāraka tīrtha : This is the phallus of the Lord Śiva situated on the north bank of the Narmadā. It is said to be the destroyer of all sins.²⁷

Amṛta Vapikā : This is one of the twenty-four sub-tīrthas of Setu. It removes all the sins.²⁸ As to its exact location it is further stated that it is situated near the shrine Ekāntarāmanātha²⁹ under Setu, where Rāma held consultations with Brahmins to devise ways and means for the destruction of the demons.³⁰

Anandavimūnakakṣetra : This is a sacred place situated on the bank of the river Swāmī Puṣkariṇī on Veṅkaṭācala (q. v.).³¹

Anandēśvara : This is a place of pilgrimage located on the south bank of Narmadā. Here stands the phallus of Rudra. The God Śiva is said to have danced here and got the highest pleasure.³²

21. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 5.55
22. Sk. Ava. Revā. 225.1-2
23. Sk. Ava. Revā. 213.5-6
24. Sk. Ma. A. M. U. 2.25-26
25. Hist. Dhs. IV. 732
26. Geog. Dic. 5
27. Sk. Ava. Revā. 148.1
28. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 2.106
29. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 13.46-55
30. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 13.51-52
31. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 3.2-3

Anantagiri : This is a mountain spoken of by none of the modern scholars so far. However, as it finds mention in the *Veṅkaṭācala Māhātmya* of the Sk. P. it may be conjectured to be situated in the vicinity of the *Veṅkaṭācala*. A pond named *Devatīrtha* is said to be located there on.³³

Anarakeśvara tīrtha : This is a shrine situated at *Narmadā*. A bath in this reservoir is said to remove all sins.³⁴ Dr. Kane³⁵ also refers to one *Anarakeśvara* which is not identical with this.

Āṅgada tīrtha : This is a reservoir on *Setu*. It is said to have been installed by *Āṅgada*. A man who takes a bath in it enjoys the status of the king of Gods.³⁶

Āṅgūraka tīrtha : This shrine is said to be located on the bank of the *Narmadā*, imparting beauty to all beings³⁷ who bathe therein.

Āṅgīrasa tīrtha : This is a pool on the north bank of the *Narmadā*.³⁸ There stands an image of Lord *Śiva* adjacent to it. It is said that one who bathes here is released from all sins and goes straight to the abode of Lord *Rudra*.³⁹ The *Kūrma p.* (II. 41. 31-33) and the *Padma P.* (I. 18-50) also endorse this.⁴⁰

Aruṇācala : According the Sk. P.⁴¹ *Aruṇācala* is situated in the *Drāviḍa* (i. e. the Deccan) country. Its extent is said to be twenty-four miles. It is held that the Lord *Śiva* resides here in the form of this mountain. It is the abode of all the deities and semi-gods. It is treated as superior to *Sumeru*, *Kailāsa*, and *Mandarācala*. The *Tīrthāṅka*⁴² also refers to it and identifies it with the modern *Tiruvannamalai* in south India. *Tiruvannamalai* is said to be the Tamil name of *Aruṇācala*. As regards the mention of this mountain in the *Purāṇas* the *Tīrthāṅka* refers to

32. Sk. Ava. Revā. 65.1-8

33. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 1.79-80

34. Sk. Ava. Revā. 159.1-2 ff

35. Hist. Dhs. IV. 733

36. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 42.47-48

37. Sk. Ava. Revā. 115.1

38. Sk. Ava. Revā. 112.1

39. Sk. Ava. Revā. 112.10

40. Hist. Dhs. IV. 733

41. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. U. 4.10-14

42. Tīrth. p. 352

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the Sk. P., but the references given therein seem to be wrong.⁴³ It is situated at a distance of six furlongs from the Tiruvannamalai station⁴⁴ which stands at a distance of forty-two miles from Villupuram on the Villupuram-Gūdura line. The Sk. P.⁴⁵ further reveals that in the beginning this mountain was in the form of Fire. It was like the colour of copper and hence it is also known as Śoṇācala, as the text shows. After the prayer of the deities it changed its previous form and took the present one. It is known by different names⁴⁶ in the different ages viz. in Kṛta yuga it is known as Agnimayaśaila, in Tretā-Maṇi Parvata, in Dvāpara-Hāṭakagiri, and in Kali yuga-Markatācala. In Kṛta yuga it was all fire and when the sages rounded it from outside, then it became cold. Aruṇācala⁴⁷ is said to be situated to the south of Śoṇādri.

Aṅkureśvara : This shrine is placed on the south bank of the river Narmadā.⁴⁸ It is named after the demon Aṅkura, the son of Kumbha⁴⁹ (Perhaps Kumbhakarna, the brother of Rāvaṇa).

Araṇī(r) : This is a river near Nārāyaṇa Puri⁵⁰ in the vicinity of Veūkaṭādri.⁵¹ Its western bank is full of trees.⁵² The phallus of Agastyeśvara is also situated very near to it.⁵³

Āṣāḍhīsthāna : This is a place of pilgrimage where the God Āṣāḍheśa is said to live in.⁵⁴ Its location from the Sk. P. is not clear. However, we propose to identify it with Āṣāḍhī tīrtha (q.v.) and the Narmadā.

Āṣāḍhī tīrtha : It is situated at the Narmadā. The Sk. P.⁵⁵ narrates that Lord Śiva lives here. The Matsya P.⁵⁶ also agrees with this statement of the Sk. P.

43. The Tīrth. refers to chapter No. 3 instead of ch. 4 of Aruṇācala Mahātmya (vide fn. No. 41)
44. Tīrth. p. 353
45. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. P. 7.8-16
46. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. P. 7.3-5
47. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. U. 4.29
48. Sk. Ava. Revā. 168.1
49. Sk. Ava. Revā. 168.18 ff
50. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 5.46
51. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. chapter 5
52. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 5.62
53. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 5. 63-64
54. Sk. Ma. A. M. U. 2.28
55. Sk. Ava. Revā. 216.1 ff
56. Ref. by Hist. Dhs. IV. 734

Asthi sarovara : This is a lake at Veṅkaṭācala situated to the east of Madālaya. A bath therein on the 12th day of lunar month prevents, it is believed, accidental or premature death.⁵⁷

Asthi Kūṭa sara : Same as *Asthi sarovara*.

Āsvina tīrtha : This shrine is situated on the bank of the Narmadā. The Sk. P. says that this holy place imparts siddhi to all.⁵⁸

Atriśvara tīrtha : This phallus is situated to the south of Koṭi tīrtha (q. v.).⁵⁹ It is said that the sage Atri practised severe asceticism at Koṭi tīrtha and established this phallus. He made a tank in front of it⁶⁰, which bears the name of Atrikuṇḍa. This kuṇḍa is located to the north of this phallus.⁶¹ Kedāra liṅga is placed in the vicinity of this phallus in Mahānagara (q. v.).⁶² Atriśvara of Liṅga Purāṇa⁶³ is different from this.

Atri kuṇḍa : This is a tank situated in front of Koṭi tīrtha. It was installed by the sage Atri (vide Atriśvara).

Ayonija tīrtha : This is a phallus of Lord Śiva at the Narmadā. There is a reservoir also near to it. A bath in this reservoir and worship of this phallus have been highly praised.⁶⁴

Badaryāśrama : This is a place of pilgrimage on the bank of the Narmadā, which both Nara⁶⁵ and Nārāyaṇa are said to have visited once.

Bālhikadeśa : According to the Sk. P.⁶⁶ the country of Bālhika comprised four lacs of villages. Besides this no further information about this country is available in the Sk. P. However as the name is associated with Laṅkadeśa it may be located in the south. Mr. Dey⁶⁷ mentions Bālhika as a country and locates it between the Beas and the Sutlej, north of Kekaya. Further he identifies it with Madras whose capital was Śākala. It was also

57. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 10.72

58. Sk. Ava. Revā 199.1

59. Sk. Ma. Kau. 52.17

60. Sk. Ma. Kau. 52.18

61. Sk. Ma. Kau. 57. 2-3

62. Sk. Ma. Kau. 57.4-5

63. Hist. Dhs. IV. 735

64. Sk. Ava. Revā. 126.1

65. Sk. Ava. Revā. 95. 1 and 3

66. Sk. Ma. Kau. 39.155

67. Geog. Dic. 19

known as Vāhika which is the corrupted form of Bālhika. This latter statement of Mr. Dey seems to be identical with that of the Sk. P. According to Kāvya Mīmāṃsā⁶⁸ it is located in northern India.

Bhadrakūṭisaṅgama or *Śūla tīrtha* : This is the phallus of Lord Śiva at the Narmadā.⁶⁹

Bhaṇḍārī tīrtha : This is a place of pilgrimage (reservoir) on the bank of the Narmadā. A bath in it would exterminate one's poverty. Kuvera is said to have practised penance here for nineteen long yugas and was, at the end, blessed by Brahmā with the lordship of wealth, which he earned as a consequence of the gifts and donations he made in this tīrtha.⁷⁰

Bhārabhūti sthāna : This is a place of pilgrimage. It finds mention in the Sk. P.⁷¹ but we cannot make out its location therefrom. The Matsya P. (194.18) as also the Kūrma purāṇa refer to it. And according to them it is located on the bank of the Narmadā.⁷²

Bhārgaleśvara : This is a place of pilgrimage at Narmadā where the phallus of Lord Śiva is situated. A reservoir is also said to have been situated near it.⁷³

Bhīmeśvara tīrtha : This shrine is placed under the Narmadā.⁷⁴ Japa of Gayatrī and of Ekākṣara mantra here has been promised of a very high reward. The Matsya (22.46, 75.191), the Kūrma (II. 41.20, 44.15) and the Padma (I.18.5) Purāṇas⁷⁵ also agree with the Sk. P. as regard the location of this tīrtha.

Bhṛgu Āśrama : According to the Sk. P.⁷⁶ it is situated on the north bank of the river Revā i. e. Narmadā. Śukla tīrtha⁷⁷ is also said to be placed near it. Dr. Kane⁷⁸ also refers to it and

68. Kāvya mīmāṃsā (Raj Sekhar) 8 (298, 308)
69. Sk. Ava. Revā. 198.1-2 ff
70. Sk. Ava. Revā. 107.1-2
71. Sk. Ma. A. M. U. 2.31
72. Hist. Dhs. IV. 738
73. Sk. Ava. Revā. 152.1-3 ff
74. Sk. Ava. Revā. 77.1-3
75. Hist. Dhs. IV. 739
76. Sk. Ma. Kau. 3.2
77. Sk. Ma. Kau. 3.5
78. Hist. Dhs. IV. 739

has rightly located it as above. Bhṛgu āśrama as mentioned by Dr. Law⁷⁹ and Mr. Dey⁸⁰ is not identical with it.

Bhṛgukaccha : According to the Sk. P.⁸¹ this is a place of pilgrimage at Narmadā. Dr. Kane⁸² has correctly placed it on the north bank of the Narmadā. He identifies it with Bharukaccha,⁸³ modern Broach. Mr. Dey⁸⁴ also seem to agree with him.

Bhṛgu Parvata : The mountain Bhṛgu is said to be situated on the south of Revā. Śulabheda, a place of pilgrimage is situated on it.⁸⁵ Mr. Dey's⁸⁶ Bhṛgu Tuṅga is not identical with this. Dr. Kane⁸⁷, however, refers to one Bhṛgu-Tuṅga near Amarakaṇṭaka which may be identified with this Bhṛgu Parvata.

Bhṛgu tīrtha : This is same as Bhṛgu Āśrama. Here Bhṛgu is said to have practised penance in the remote past.⁸⁸ This is also called Pitāmaha tīrtha as the Pitāmaha (Brahmā) observed asceticism here for long three hundred years, worshipping Śambhu⁸⁹ for certain unknown reasons. According to the Sk. P. both of them are located at the Narmadā. Mr. Dey⁹⁰ identifies it with Bhera Ghat, containing the temple of sixty-four yoginis. It is at a distance of twelve miles to the west of Jabalpur, on the Narmadā between the marble rocks. On the matter of its location at the Narmadā⁹¹, all Matsya (193.23-60), Kūrma (II.42.1-6) and the Padma (I.20.23-57) Purāṇas agree with the former.

Bhṛkūṭeśvara : This is a place of pilgrimage at the Narmadā.⁹²

Bhūteśvara tīrtha : This is a place of pilgrimage at the Narmadā⁹³ of great importance. Even a mere sight of this tīrtha is said to be enough to remove one's sins. Lord Śiva smeared his

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79. Hist. Geog. 72
 80. Geog. Dic. 33
 81. Sk. Ava. Revā. 182.60
 82. Hist. Dhs. IV. 739
 83. Hist. Dhs. IV. 738
 84. Geog. Dic. 32
 85. Sk. Ava. Revā. 44. 8-9
 86. Geog. Dic. 34
 87. Hist. Dhs. IV. 739
 88. Sk. Ava. Revā. 181.1-2 ff
 89. Sk. Ava. Revā. 204.1-2 ff
 90. Geog. Dic. 34
 91. Hist. Dhs. IV. 739
 92. Sk. Ava. Revā. 128.1-2 ff
 93. Sk. Ava. Revā. 177.1-2

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holy body with dust of this sacred place and that is why the tīrtha was called Bhūteśvara.⁹⁴

Brahma tīrtha : It is a place of pilgrimage situated on the bank of the Narmadā.⁹⁵ Brahma tīrtha referred to by Mr. Dey⁹⁶ and by Dr. Kane⁹⁷ is not identical with this tīrtha.

Brahmāvarta tīrtha : According to the Sk. P.⁹⁸ it is a place of pilgrimage situated on the north bank of the Narmadā. As regards its location the Matsya (190.7, 191.70) and the Padma (I.17.5) Purāṇas⁹⁹ concur with the Sk. P. Mr. Dey¹⁰⁰ also refers to it but as to its location he differs.

Brahmakūṇḍa : This is one of the twenty-four sub-tīrthas situated on mount Gandhamādāna at Rameśvaram in south India.¹⁰¹ The mount Gandhamādāna has so far been said by all writers to have been located at the Himalayan region. But the Sk. P. expressly mentions it at Rameśvaram. From the Rāmāyaṇa¹⁰² also we understand that mount Gandhamādāna is situated at this shrine and Hanuman jumped over the sea to Laṅkā from the peak of the Gandhamādāna. From this it appears that the Gandhamādāna mentioned here is definitely situated in the south and not on the Himalayan range. Mr. Dey¹⁰³ has rightly observed that "fragment of this mountain said to have been brought by Hanuman is pointed out near Rameśvaram in south India. The Tīrthāṅka mentions two shrines of this name—(1) in the northern region near the Alakānandā which is situated at about three hundred yards from the sacred temple of Śrī Badrīnātha¹⁰⁴ and (2) near the Brahmāṇḍa ghaṭ about nine miles from Kareli station (Central Railway) on the southern bank of the river Narmadā.¹⁰⁵ It is said that Brahmā along with other Gods practised penance on the bank

94. Sk. Ava. Revā. 177.1-2
95. Sk. Revā 129.1-3 ff
96. Geog. Dic. 40
97. Hist. Dhs. IV. 711
98. Sk. Ava. Revā. 31.1
99. Hist. Dhs. IV. 741
100. Geog. Dic. 40
101. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 14.1-2ff
102. Ref. by Dey, Geog. Dic. 60
103. Geog. Dic 60
104. Tīrth. (1957) p. 59
105. Ibid. p. 227-228

of this kuṇḍa.¹⁰⁶ These two shrines are evidently different from the shrine mentioned above.

The Sk. P.¹⁰⁷ in order to stress the importance of this pit tells the readers in vulgar and indecent language that if any pilgrim or visitor fails to apply the ashes from this pit on his forehead, he will be considered a bastard i. e. not the son procreated by father but by mother.

Brahma tīrtha: There are several shrines called Brahma tīrtha situated in (a) Vārāṇasī¹⁰⁸ (b) Gayā¹⁰⁹ (c) Godāvarī¹¹⁰ (d) Sarasvatī¹¹¹ and (e) to the south-east corner of Śoṇādri¹¹² and (f) on Ghaṇḍācala, the abode of God Nṛsiṃha, eighty miles to the south of Kiṣkindhā.¹¹³ Out of these only the last two are mentioned in the Sk. P. with which we are mainly concerned here. The name of Kiṣkindhā is found in the several digests¹¹⁴ and there is no difficulty to locate this famous place. But as far as Śoṇādri is concerned its identification and location have still remained uncertain. We, however, find abundant evidences in the Sk. P. for identification. The Sk. P. identifies Aruṇādri with Śoṇādri¹¹⁵ and observes that Aruṇādri is known as (I) Agnimaya Śaila (II) Maṇi Parvata (III) Hāṭakagiri and (IV) Marakatācala in the Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kaliyugas respectively¹¹⁶ and says that the Aruṇācala is situated at the river Kampā in Kāñcīpuri¹¹⁷ of Draviḍas in the south.¹¹⁸ In his Historical Geography Dr. Law¹¹⁹ mentions a Maṇiparvata which is situated in the Himalayan region. Obviously this Maṇiparvata is different from the Aruṇācala which the Sk. P.¹²⁰ speaks of as known as Maṇiparvata in the Tretā.

106. Ibid.

107. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 14. 55

108. Hist. Dhs. IV. 741

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. P. 5.69-72 and 7.25

113. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 39.14-27

114. Geog. Dic. 100; Hist. Geog. 21; Hist. Dhs. IV. 768; Tirth. p. 308

115. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. P. 13. 36-40; 9.2-3 ff

116. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. P. 7.1-5

117. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. P. chapters 3-4

118. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. U. chapter 4

119. Hist. Geog. 106

120. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. P. 7.1-6 ff

As regards the exact location of Brahma tīrtha, the Sk. P. further says that it is situated at the distance of eighty miles to the west of the river Suvarṇamukhari¹²¹, which is identical with the river Suvarṇamukhī in the North Arcot district, Madras.¹²²

On the above evidences it may be concluded that the Brahma tīrtha of the Sk. P. is situated at Kāñcīpuri (modern Conjeeveram) in the Madras state.

Cakra tīrtha : This finds mention in several Purāṇas but almost all of them differ, as regard its location. Even according to the Sk. P. there are several shrines of the same name situated in different places.

(a) According to the Vaiṣṇava khaṇḍa it is one of the seven prominent tīrthas, said to be very sacred and situated on Nārāyaṇagiri (q. v.).¹²³

(b) The Brahma khaṇḍa holds that two shrines of this name are situated at Setu.¹²⁴ It stands to the north of the Vetāla Varada¹²⁵ tīrtha and it is extended up to Devī-pura or Devī Pattana. This is the place where Rāma is said to have laid the nine foundation stones for the Setu over the sea.¹²⁶ This was formerly known as Dharma-tīrtha.¹²⁷ Mr. Dey¹²⁸ and Dr. Kane¹²⁹ agree with its location at Setu, but they locate its name-sake at several other places too as evidenced by the different Purāṇas. (c) The Āvanti khaṇḍa describes a Cakra tīrtha which is popularly known as Senāpura¹³⁰, but situated at the Narmadā. One who dies here, it is said, goes straight to Viṣṇu loka after one's death.

Caṇḍāditya : This is a holy shrine at the Narmadā.¹³¹

Gandrahāsa tīrtha : This is a reservoir at Narmadā. Somarāja is said to have achieved siddhi here. A bath in it, it is believed, extricates one from all the sins.¹³²

121. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 37. 14-27
122. Geog. Dic. 259
123. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 1.51-52
124. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 2.104-111
125. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 8.3
126. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 6.6-7
127. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 3.6-10
128. Geog. Dic. 43
129. Hist. Dhs. IV. 742
130. Sk. Ava. Revā. 109. 1 and 15
131. Sk. Ava. Revā. 91. 1 ff
132. Sk. Ava. Revā. 121.1-24

Cauḍadeśa or Coladeśa : The name occurs in the Sk. P., while describing a pilgrimage going from Cauḍadeśa to Somanātha. The legend¹³³ explains that in the Tretā yuga two Brahmins named Ūrjayanta and Prāleya from Cauḍadeśa (or Coladeśa) who going through the forest and rivers on their way to Prabhāsa tīrtha crossed the river Narmadā, and bathed in the Mahī-sāgara saṅgama before proceeding further. From this description we may take it that Cauḍa deśa is situated somewhere to the south of the Narmadā. Cauḍa deśa is identified with Cola by Dr. Dey¹³⁴ and Dr. Law.¹³⁵ According to them it comprises the districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and part of Pudukkottah State. According to the Padma P.¹³⁶ (Ādi khaṇḍa ch. 6) it was also known as Drāviḍa. The name Cauḍa deśa is said to have derived from Cola, the king of Kañchī-pura.¹³⁷ This kingdom of Cola was once merged as a marriage dowry into the Pāṇḍya-kingdom.¹³⁸

Citrakūṭa : (r) : This is one of the fifteen rivers rising from the Ṛkṣa Pāda.¹³⁹ The Vāyu (45.99) and the Matsya (14.25) Purāṇas also mention it likewise.¹⁴⁰ Mr. Dey¹⁴¹ identifies it with Payasvinī.

Citrotpala (r) : It rises from mount Ṛkṣapāda.¹⁴² The Brahma Purāṇa¹⁴³ (27.31-32) also supports what the Sk. P. says in this respect. Mr. Dey¹⁴⁴ identifies it with Citropala, the river Mahā-nadī in Orissa.

Dadhiskanda : This is a reservoir at the Narmadā. A bath in it and a gift of curds to a Brahmin at this place have been highly eulogised.¹⁴⁵

Daiva tīrtha : This is one of the seven tīrthas situated on Nārāyaṇagiri (q. v.).¹⁴⁶

133. Sk. Ma. Kau. 48.1-19

134. Geog. Dic. 51

135. Hist. Geog. 148

136. Ref. by Geog. Dic. 51

137. Padma Purāṇa, U. Kh. chapter 74; Geog. Dic. 51

138. Geog. Dic. 51

139. Sk. Ava. Revā. 4. 45-48

140. Hist. Dhs. IV. 744

141. Geog. Dic. 50

142. Sk. Ava. Revā. 4. 45-48.

143. Ref. by Hist. Dhs. 744

144. Geog. Dic. 50

145. Sk. Ava. Revā. 79. 2-3

146. Sk. Vai. Ven. M. 1. 51-52

Daṇḍakānana : The name occurs in the Sk. P.¹⁴⁷ in connection with the exile of Śrī Rāma, who retired to Daṇḍakānana during his exile in search of his wife. It may be identified with Daṇḍakāraṇya¹⁴⁸ or Daṇḍaka forest.¹⁴⁹ Pargiter¹⁵⁰ observes that it consisted of all the forests from Bundel Khaṇḍa to the river Kṛṣṇā whereas the Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara k. ch. 81) holds that it was located between the Vindyas and the Śailala mountains.¹⁵¹

Dāru tīrtha : This is a place of pilgrimage on the north bank of the Narmadā¹⁵², where a Brahmin, Siddha, is said to have practised penance.

Dārūka tīrtha : This shrine is situated at the Narmadā.¹⁵³ Dārūka, a beloved person of Indra, is said to have obtained siddhī here. A bath, charity, japa, Homa, and feeding of the Brahmins at this place are said to be highly rewarding.¹⁵⁴

Daṇḍādri : According to the Sk. P.¹⁵⁵ Daṇḍādri is the western part of Aruṇācala (q. v. or Śoṇācala).

Daṇḍimuṇḍīsthāna : This is a place of pilgrimage¹⁵⁶ where the images of Muṇḍimahādeva and the Goddess Daṇḍikā are established. Though the location of the place is not clear, we propose to locate it in the vicinity of Aruṇācala.

Dardura parvata : The name of this mountain finds mention in the Sk. P.¹⁵⁷ in association with the other mountains of India. But its location is not evident in this Purāṇa. However, the name occurs in several other Purāṇas¹⁵⁸ also and accordingly it has been identified with the Nilgiri Hills. Mr. Dey¹⁵⁹ also observes that it is the Nilgiri hills in Madras state.

147. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 2. 1-18 ff

148. Geog. Dic. 52

149. Hist. Geog. 280

150. JRAS, 1894, p. 242-Ref. by Geog. Dic. 52

151. Geog. Dic. 52

152. Sk. Ava. Revā. 30. 1.

153. Sk. Ava. Revā. 36. 1

154. Sk. Ava. Revā. 36. 18-19

155. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. 4. 28

156. Sk. Ma. A. ch. M. U. 2. 29

157. Sk. Ma. Ke. 30. 32-35

158. Mar. P. 54. 12; Var. P. 214. 52-Ref. by Hist. Dhs.

IV. 745

159. Geog. Dic. 53.

Daśārṇa (r) : It is mentioned as one of the fifteen tributaries of the river Gaṅgā. It takes rise from Rkṣapāda¹⁶⁰ mountain (q. v.). Wilson¹⁶¹ (vol. II. p. 155) identifies it with the modern Dasān, which rises in Bhopal and falls into the Betwa. It flows through the country of Daśārṇa¹⁶², the eastern part of Mālāvā or Mālvā ; its capital being Vidiśā, the modern Bhilsā, situated on the Vetravati or Betva (Magh I. 24-25). Mr. Dey¹⁶³ also refers to it and locates it as said above.

Daśāśvamedhikā : This is a shrine situated on the bank of the Narmadā. It is said to be full of all the virtues and the remover of all sins.¹⁶⁴ It finds mention in several other Purāṇas¹⁶⁵ and is located at different places. However, the Matsya (193.21), the Kūrma (II. 41.104) and the Padma (I. 20.20) Purāṇas locate it under the Narmadā.

Devakhāta : This is an oblong pond in the vicinity of Piṅgaleśvara tīrtha at Narmadā.¹⁶⁶

Deva tīrtha : This is a pond referred to in three places as situated (a) in Anantigiri (q. v.). A bath in it on Monday, Thursday, Puṣya, Śravaṇa and Vyatipāta has been highly praised.¹⁶⁷ (b) On the mt. Gandhamādhana¹⁶⁸. A bath in it destroys all sins of the whole life.¹⁶⁹ (c) On Dharmāraṇya q. v.)-said to be superior to Vārāṇasī.¹⁷⁰ (d) On the south bank of the Narmadā where all the divinities worshipped and pleased the Lord Śiva.¹⁷¹ This shrine seems to be so important that its name occurs four times in the Revā khaṇḍa of the Sk. P.¹⁷² The Matsya (191.24, 193.81, Kūrma (II. 42.16) and the Padma (I.18.24) Purāṇas¹⁷³ also agree with the Sk. P.

160. Sk. Ava. Revā. 4. 45-49.

161. Hist. Dhs. IV. 745

162. Skt. Eng. Dic. p. 662

163. Geog. Dic. 54

164. Sk. Ava. Revā. 180. 1

165. Hist. Dhs. IV. 745

166. Sk. Ava. Revā. 176. 31-32

167. Sk. Vai. Ve. M. 1. 78-80.

168. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 42. 20

169. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 42. 22

170. Sk. Bra. Dharm. Kh. 14. 4

171. Sk. Ava. Revā. 130. 1

172. Sk. Ava. Revā. Chapters 37, 130, 192, 201

173. Hist. Dhs. IV. 746

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Devipattanam or *Devīpura* : This is a holy place connected with Cakra tīrtha where Śrī Rāma is said to have laid nine foundation stones first to construct the Setu to Dhanuṣkoṭi with Laṅkā. It is located at the vicinity of Setu.¹⁷⁴

Dhanada tīrtha : This is the phallus of Lord Śiva situated on the south bank of the Narmadā. It is mentioned as the annihilator of all sins.¹⁷⁵

Dhanuṣkoṭi : This is one of the twenty-four sub-tīrthas of Setu.¹⁷⁶ It is mentioned as one of the most important tīrthas of the world.¹⁷⁷ A bath in it on all the thirty days of Māgha has been highly praised.¹⁷⁸ If a man recites its name thrice at the time of taking bath at any reservoir, it is said, he goes straight to the abode of Brahmā.¹⁷⁹ Mr. Dey¹⁸⁰ identifies it with Dharma tīrtha existing on the eastern extremity of the Island of Rāmeśvaram, ten or twelve miles from the temple of Rāmeśvara.

Dharma Puṣkariṇī : It is a reservoir adjacent to Phullagrāma, which is said to be situated on the bank of the South sea. The sage Gālava is said to have practised penance on its bank.¹⁸¹ It is so called because 'Dharma' observed asceticism offering prayer to Lord Śiva and he made a pool for his daily ablutions which was known as Dharma Puṣkariṇī.¹⁸²

Dharmavāpī : It is a kuṇḍa under Dharmāranya made by Dharma for the sake of God Śiva. It is said to be situated to the west of Dharmeśa tīrtha.¹⁸³

Dhaundheśa : This is the kṣetrapāla of Kurkuri tīrtha or Kṣonī tīrtha at the Narmadā. Its worship has been highly eulogised.¹⁸⁴

174. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 6. 1-7

175. Sk. Ava. Revā. 68. 1

176. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 2. 104-111

177. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 30.1-107

178. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 30. 107

179. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 30. 63-64

180. Geog. Dic. 56

181. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 3.11-12

182. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 3.50-51

183. Sk. Bra. Dh. Kh. 4. 78-92

184. Sk. Ava. Revā. 205. 1-3

Dhautapāpa tīrtha : (a) It is situated near Bhṛgu tīrtha on the bank of the Narmadā. Here stands a phallus of Lord Śiva.¹⁸⁵ (b) There is another tīrtha of this name adjacent to Cakra tīrtha at the Narmadā. It was built by God Viṣṇu. A bath and japa here remove all sins.¹⁸⁶ Dr. Kane¹⁸⁷ identifies it with Pāpaprānāśana which differs from this. Mr. Dey¹⁸⁸ also refers to it but it is not identical with this.

Diṇḍimeśvara : This is the phallus of God Śiva located on the bank of the Narmadā.¹⁸⁹

Dvādaśī tīrtha : This is also a place of pilgrimage on the bank of the Narmadā. Japa, homa, dāna at this place are highly rewarded.¹⁹⁰

Ekāntarāmanātha kṣetra : This is a place of pilgrimage at Setu. Rāma with Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān are said to have lived here. Near it stands a reservoir named Amṛtavāpi.¹⁹¹

Eraṇḍisaṅgama : This is a place of pilgrimage on the north bank of the Narmadā.¹⁹² It is said to be the purifier of sins.¹⁹³ Matsya (191. 42, 193.65) and the Padma (I.18.41) Purāṇas¹⁹⁴ refer to Eraṇḍī tīrtha as a river being the tributary of the Narmadā in Baroda territory which is called *Uri* or *Or*. The word itself indicates that it is the confluence of the river Eraṇḍī with the Narmadā. Hence it may be identified with the Eraṇḍī-Narmadā-saṅgama as evinced by the Matsya (194.32), Kūrma (II. 41.85, 42-31) and the Padma (I.18.41) Purāṇas¹⁹⁵.

Eraṇḍī tīrtha : In the Sk. P. is mentioned as a sub-tīrtha under Narmadā.¹⁹⁶ Dr. Kane¹⁹⁷ says that it is a tributary of the Narmadā. Mr. Dey¹⁹⁸ also identifies it with the river *Uri* or *Or* in the Baroda state.

(To be continued)

185. Sk. Ava. Revā. 184.1-2
186. Sk. Ava. Revā. 110. 1-5
187. Hist. Dhs. IV. 747; 789
188. Geog. Dic. 57
189. Sk. Ava. Revā. 212.9-10
190. Sk. Ava. Revā. 144.1.3
191. Sk. Bra. Se. M. 13.1-4
192. Sk. Ava. Revā. 103.3
193. Sk. Ava. Revā. 217.1
194. Hist. Dhs. IV. 751
195. Ibid.
196. Sk. Ava. Revā. 185.1
197. Hist. Dhs. IV. 751
198. Geog. Dic. 59

SEDUCTION STORIES IN THE BRAHMAVAIVARTA PURĀṆA*

(A study in purāṇic structure)

By

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे पुराणेषूपलब्धानां केषाञ्चित् परदारावमर्शाख्या-
नानां विमर्शः कृतः । एषु आख्यानेषु इन्द्र-अहल्या आख्यानं चन्द्र-
तारा-आख्यानं तु प्रमुखरूपेण विवेचिते । अनयोराख्यानयोरुल्लेखः वेदेषु
पुराणेषु चोपलभ्यते । लेखकेन ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे अनयोराख्यानयोः का
स्थितिः इत्यपि विवेचितम् । लेखकेन प्रतिपादितं यत् प्रत्येकमाख्यानं
स्ववैशिष्ट्यं भजति यद् आख्यानान्तरेण पृथगस्ति । पुराणस्य अनयोरा-
ख्यानयोः प्रतिपादने का वैशिष्ट्यमित्यपि प्रदर्शितम् ।]

The Problem

Love stories constitute an important theme in several purāṇa-s. Considered sometimes as *divyā* (Devī Bhg. I. 11.4 ff) and *purāṭanī kathā-s* (BVP. IV. 79.63), i. e. in western terminology 'myths'¹ and sometimes as '*nigūḍha-s*' (BVP. IV. 61.1), i. e. '(revealed) secrets',

*The Abbreviations used in this article are the common ones, except for Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa which will be shortened in BVP.

1. While in the History of religions the concepts of myth and legend have long been defined and delimited, they are still confused in the field of indological research. I mean to say that there is no unanimity among scholars in the use of the terms. Some—P. Hacker, Wendy O. Flaherty, C. Conio etc.—speak of "purāṇic myths" (taking it for granted that there are some). Others—V. M. Bedekar, R. M. Huntington etc.—speak of legends or stories, without differentiating them from myths. Still others—A. S. Gupta, D. D. Kosambi—use both myth and story synonymously. The problem is complicated by the fact that there is no equivalent term for myth in Sanskrit and that the purāṇic authors did not develop any concept similar to the concept of myth. The words '*divyā kathā*', '*purāṭanī kathā*' define the kind of story they are narrating more than fix a general definition.

they may be classified as 'īśānukathā'² (Bhg. III. 10.1), one of the ten *purāṇalakṣaṇa-s*.³

Among such kathā-s the 'seduction stories' deserve special attention.⁴ Although handed on by tradition, they are often overlooked as irrelevant or are considered as a serious stumbling-block to religious readers, as is apparent from Tantravārtika of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (see below). But a study of such stories helps us to understand the purāṇic attitude towards tradition and the moral feelings of the composers on the one hand, while on the other hand it provides a clue to the structure of a purāṇa, its handling of mythical themes, revelation and the topics that should constitute its matter.

Among the purāṇa-s particular consideration will be given to the BVP, which being a kṛṣṇaitic work in its present recension⁵

2. The word is not given by the Dictionaries. Baladeva Upādhyāya, *Purāṇa Vimarśa*, Vārāṇasī, 1965, p.135 quotes the following śloka :

अवतारानुचरितं हरेश्चास्यानुवर्तिनाम् ।
सतामीशकथा प्रोक्ता नानाख्यानोपबृंहिताः ॥

and adds भगवान् तथा उनके नित्य पार्षदों के अवतारों की कथा 'ईशानुकथा' कहलाती है । Along the same lines is G. S. Caturvedi, *Purāṇa Parīśīlana*, Patna, 1970, p. 51. Īśānukathā therefore can be translated as 'story of the avatāra-s of God and his attendants.'

3. Besides the commonly accepted 5 topics recognized as legitimate and compulsory topics to be dealt with in the purāṇa-s, the Bhāgavata and the Brahmaivaivarta purāṇas propose a list of 10 topics. For a first information of the problem see Baladeva Upādhyāya, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-139. For a first critic to the tradition see: Stephan Hillier Levitt, A note on compound Pañcalakṣaṇa in Amara-siṃha's Nāmalingānuśāsana, in *Purāṇa* XVIII, 1 (Jan 1976), pp. 5-38.
4. The Sanskrit equivalent of the English 'se-duction' is 'हरण' which although corresponding to the second element of the English word is sometimes used in the meaning of the whole word. cf Padma, Sṛṣṭi kh. (ASS) 51.4ab अहल्याहरणादेव सुरेशस्य भगाङ्कता; see also BVP's colophon of IV. 80-81 ताराहरणे and Mbh. III. 262 ff called द्रौपदीहरणपर्व. In Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa III. 34, in whose colophon is सीताहरणोपदेशो नाम the word means simply 'taking way'.
5. See for a general information Anantray J. Rawal, Some problems regarding the Brahmaivaivarta Purāṇa, in *Purāṇa* XIV. 2 (July 1972), pp. 107-124.

gives prominence to body, love, pleasures and any story in which such elements play some role.

There are many seduction stories in the BVP, but I have been obliged to select only the most representative. I will devote special attention to two of them : Indra-Ahalyā (BVP IV. 61) and Tārā-Candra (id. IV. 80), although I will also refer to others in order to elaborate my theme. As for the former, they have been chosen because they can be traced as far back as the Veda-s besides occurring in several purāṇa-s; and because the BVP displays a significantly different attitude towards them from that of the other purāṇa-s and their role in it can be studied in a more differentiated way.

1. The Structure

a. *Indra-Ahalyā*⁶

The plot of the story centres on Indra who, having taken the form of Gautama, rapes the muni's wife—Ahalyāharaṇa (Padma P. (ASS) Śṛṣṭi kh. 51. 4a-5)—while her husband is absent. Discovered by the angry muni he is cursed with emasculation and with one thousand vaginas on his body, that are later compassionately changed into one thousand eyes. Ahalyā too is punished, though the punishment varies in the different accounts.

6. The episode of Indra-Ahalyā can be read in :

RV. 6.47.18 Śat Br. 3.3.4.18; Jaim. Br. 2.79; Taitt. Ār. 1.12.4; Śad. Br. 1.1.20-21; Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra 1.3.1; Atharva V. 11.2.17; Padma P. Śṛṣṭi kh. (ASS) 51, (Mor) 56; Brahma P. 87; BVP IV. 61; Liṅga P. 1.29; Skanda P. 1.2.52.26-30; V.2.136.1-16; Devī Bhg. P. 1.51.1,46; Gaṇeśa P. 1.30f; Rāmāyaṇa, I.48-49; VII. 30; Mbh. Udyoga Parva 12; Anuśāsana Parva 41; 153; Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, Sāra-kāṇḍa 1.3; Kathāsaritsāgara, Lāvāṇakalambaka 137-47; Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Tantravārtika, passim; Dayānanda Sarasvati Rgvedādi Bhaṣya Bhūmika, p. 300; P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Poona, III, 531-37 (ch. XXV Strīsam-grahaṇa-Adultery or unlawful intercourse with a woman); Baladeva Upādhyāya, Purāṇa Vimarśa, Vārāṇasī, 1965 pp. 250-58; Mādhvācārya Śāstrī, Purāṇa Dīgdarśana, Delhi, Samv.2028 (4th ed.), pp.634-47; M.M. Sidheshwar Shastri Chitrao, Bhāratavarṣiya Prācīna Caritrakośa, Poona, 1964, s. v.; Rāṇā Prasād Śarmā, Paurāṇika Kośa, Vārāṇasī, 2028, s. v.; Vettam Mani, Purāṇic Encyclopaedia, Delhi, 1975 (English Ed.), s. v. cf. also above p. 298.

Three texts dwell on it longer than the others—*Brahma P.* 87. 34-87, *Padma P.*, *Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa* (ASS) 51, (Mor ed.) 56, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa* 48. 13-33, i. e. 54 śloka-s the first, 50 (ASS) or 55 (Mor ed.) the other and 21 the last. The attitude of the three texts and the way they handle the topic is perceptibly different. *Brahma P.* 87. 34-87 is an aition (or an origin myth), which explains the importance of the Ahalyāsaṅgama and Indra tīrtha in Gautama Māhātmya.⁷ *Padma*, *Sṛṣṭi kh.* 51 (ASS) or 56 (Mor ed.) is an independent narration of Ahalyāharāṇa, as it is mentioned in the colophon and whose moral and didactic aim is declared in the first two śloka-s⁸ and never forgotten throughout the whole story, pervading the whole narration with its moralistic atmosphere.⁹ Finally *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa* 48.13-33 deals with Indra-Ahalyā story in the perspective of the wonderful events of Rāma's life, when the great Rāghava liberates Ahalyā from the curse given her by Gautma.¹⁰ As the scope of the three texts is different, the whole story is also narrated with a different stress, although there are mutual influences.

That at the beginning of its written tradition the story was vague is already deducible from the varying details given in different texts, the only constants in the purāṇa-s being the three characters—Indra, Ahalyā, Gautama—the rape and the curse. It seems reasonable, therefore, to think that only what remained unaltered

7. See also Sk. P. I.2.51.26-30; V.2.136.1-16 and *Brahma P.* 122 which are also on the same line.

8. अद्रोहकस्य चाख्यातो महिमा लोकदुःसहः ।
एकतल्पगतां वामां क्षान्त्वा सर्वजितोभवत् ॥
ज्ञानिनामपि दुःसाध्यं मुनीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् ।
सुरासुरमनुष्याणां विषमं तत् समं गतः ॥

9. The narration of the *Sṛṣṭi kh* gathers suggestions from different sources as often in the *Padma P.* In the adh. 54 (Mor ed.), whose colophon is 'strīṇām ākhyānam, there are some śl. dealing with 'parastrīṇām balāddharāṇa doṣavarṇaṇam'. The adh. 56, dealing with Ahalyā-harāṇa can be considered an illustration of the following śl.

परदारान् बलाद्गत्वा धनैर्वसिं प्रलोभयेत् ।
स याति नरकं घोरं प्रेत्येह च कलत्रहा ॥ (54.36)

10. यदा त्वेतद्वनं घोरं रामो दशरथात्मजः ।
आगमिष्यति दुर्धर्षस्तदा पूता भविष्यति ॥
Bālakāṇḍa 51.31; see also Utt. Kāṇḍa 30.43.

throughout the several versions should be considered essential in the original plot.¹¹ Among the details not belonging to the original is the severe moral condemnation of Indra's misbehaviour, which is so stressed in Kathāsaritsāgara III. 148¹² and reappears in Rāmāyaṇa, Padma P., Brahma P. and later commentators.¹³ Some purāṇa-s, in fact, while referring to this story, do not attempt any moral judgement, but stress instead other points. So for example the curse assumes great relevance in the Brahma P. and Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa) and it is the kernel of the whole plot in Liṅga P. I. 29.27.¹⁴ In Devī Bhg. I. 5.46-47 this episode becomes an example of universal suffering¹⁵ and in BVP IV. 61.1 it is an instance of Kṛṣṇa's supremacy through the humiliation of Indra's pride. The story then, at least in purāṇic tradition, is quite mobile in structure and aims. The BVP, therefore, which, as we shall see, gives it a cast once again different from those mentioned above, constitutes only another example of interpretation in a case where tradition handed on only the constants referred to in the previous lines.

But what has tradition really handed on ? A certain relation between Indra, Ahalyā and Gautama is traceable back to the vedic Samhitā-s and the Brāhmaṇa-s from which some points could be taken and developed into a seduction story. In the Veda-s Indra is notoriously depicted as a multifarious god, who can assume as

11. Unless, of course, the whole story has been misunderstood by the purāṇic authors and reinterpreted in their own way, a hypothesis that should be carefully proved if it is to be accepted.

12. See Ahalyākathā in Lāvāṇakalambaka. The story very short (vv. 127-47) is narrated as an example of misbehaviour and is concluded :

एवं कुकर्म सर्वस्य फलत्यात्मनि सर्वदा ।
यो यद् वपति बीजं हि लभते सोऽपि तत्फलम् ॥ v. 148

13. see Rām. Bāl. 48. 27 ; Brahma P. 87. 36, 51 ff ; for Padma, Sṛṣṭi kh. see above. For the commentators see fn 35.

14. इन्द्रस्यापि च धर्मज्ञ छिन्नं सवृषणं पुरा ।

ऋषिणा गौतमेनोर्व्या क्रुद्धेन विनिपातितम् ॥

15. सहस्रभगसंप्राप्तिर्दुःखं चैव शचीपतेः ।

स्वर्गाद् भ्रंशस्तथा वासः कमले मानसे सरे ॥ 46 ॥

एते दुःखस्य भोक्तारः केन दुःखं न भुज्यते । 47 ab ॥

many forms as he wants.¹⁶ Śat. Br. 3. 3. 4. 19 and Śaḍ. Br. 1. 1. 25 etc.¹⁷ refer to this capacity specifically in the context of Indra's relation with Gautama. The Śaḍ. Br. while explaining Indra's epithet 'Gautamabruvāṇa' (lit. "pretending to be Gautama"), narrates that during a battle between devas and asuras Indra once asked Gautama for, and was granted permission, to assume his form.¹⁸ So the Veda-s had already laid the foundation for stories in which Indra assumed Gautama's form or substituted him. Indra, moreover, is said in the Brāhmaṇa-s to be Ahalyā's paramour: अहल्यायै जरेति.¹⁹ Ahalyā, in her turn, will be later identified as Gautama's wife in the purāṇa-s.²⁰ The essential elements of the story, therefore, are already present in the Veda-s and no great imagination was necessary to elaborate them.

The problem of the curse of Indra, an important part in the structure of the whole purāṇic story, is more complex. In the Veda-s there seems to be no hint of it at all, and yet, even in this case, a link with the Saṃhitā-s has been found by the purāṇic authors. Let us see how. In the purāṇic kathā Indra is condemned to have his testicles fall off, as in Rām. Bāl. 48. 27-28; or to have one thousand vaginas (sahasrabhagaḥ) on his body that are later changed by Devi's (Brahma P. 87. 55ab) or Sūrya's (BVP. IV.61.8, 10) grace into one thousand eyes (sahasrākṣaḥ); or to suffer both curses (Padma, Sṛṣṭi (ASS); 51. 28-29 ab or (Mor ed) 56. 32-33 ab).²¹ Neither of these maledictions, however, are ever hinted

16. see RV. VI. 47. 18

रूपं रूपं प्रतिरूपो बभूव तदस्य रूपं प्रतिचक्षणाय ।
इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते युक्ता ह्यस्य हरयः शता दश ॥

which is echoed in the purāṇa-s through expressions like 'nānārūpadharaḥ', cf *Brahma P.* 87.48

17. see also the other Brāhmaṇa-s mentioned in fn. 6.

18. देवासुरा ह संयता आसंस्तानन्तरेण गौतमः शश्राम । तमिन्द्र उपेत्योवचेह
नो भवान्स्पशश्चरत्विति । नाहमुत्सह इति । अथाहं भवतो रूपेण
चरणोति । स यथा मन्यस इति । स यत्तत् गौतमो वा ब्रुवाणश्चचार
गौतमरूपेण वा तदेतदाह गौतमेति ॥ 25

19. Śat. Br. 3.3.4.18; Śaḍ. Br. 1.1.20-21 etc. The word 'jāra' is available in the Purāṇa-s also. Cf. *Brahma P.* 87.44, 50.

20. See *Brahma P.* 87.1-34, which narrates how the marriage between Ahalyā and Gautama took place.

21. The punishment for saṃgrahaṇa is dealt with by P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, III. 535.

at in the Veda-s. The character of Indra in the Veda-s and in the purāṇa-s, indeed, is quite different. In the latter Indra loses the importance and supremacy he had in the former and in many stories becomes a laughing-stock, so that even his glorious attributes are sometimes altered and laughed to scorn. To restrict our attention only to the problem of the curses we are considering, we can figure that the purāṇic authors took a cue for at least one of the curses (i. e. Indra condemned to have 1,000 vaginas, sahasra-bhagaḥ) from Indra's vedic attribute of sahasrākṣaḥ (one thousand-eyed). Indra, of course, keeps his attribute of sahasrākṣaḥ even in the purāṇa-s, but every reader of the purāṇa-s will slyly understand that in fact he is someone quite different than the one thousand-eyed. If this can be said for the second curse which is based on a vedic attribute of Indra, I can find nothing in the Veda-s that could constitute even a vague cue for the first curse. Perhaps it has to be looked for in a post-vedic period, when the plot was developed or, at least, took a more definite shape in written texts. The curse given to Ahalyā, which had not even the slightest support in vedic tradition, remained more variable²² and seems to have been influenced by local aitia.²³

We can now conclude by saying that the Veda-s had spoken of Indra :

as multifarious

as Gautamabruvāṇa (pretending to be Gautama)

as Sahasrākṣa (one thousand-eyed)

as Ahalyāyai jāra (Ahalyā's paramour).

From these hints developed the plot of a kathā used in different contexts with different aims, the most common being condemnation of immoral behaviour and an aition. In both cases, anyway, the original story, if any, was kept only in its kernel, while the details were abundantly transformed. Any purāṇic text, in fact, could use the remnants of that kathā at will. The BVP has its own way too and we shall see how different it is from the others.

22. She is condemned to become a dry river in Br. P. 87.59; a statue in BVP IV. 61.47 or a stone in Katāsarit-sāgara III, 143, to remain unknown in Gautamāśrama in Rām. Bal. 48.30.

23. See the case of Brahma P. 87, Rām. Bal., Skanda P. etc....

b. *Tārā-Candra* :²⁴

The story of *Tārā-Candra*, which has also its roots in vedic literature, is usually inserted among the *kathā-s* narrated to emphasize the importance of some persons in *Candravaṁśa* (or lunar race's) genealogy.

Its plot is more developed than the previous one and contains more elements peculiar to this kind of *kathā-s*. One day at the *Rājasūya* sacrifice, according to *Brahma P.*²⁵, *Soma* (or *Candra*) saw *Tārā*, *Brhaspati's* wife and took her off. Although requested by *deva-s* he does not cast her off. The *deva-s*, therefore, take their weapons and fight against him : the battle is known as '*tārakamaya yuddha*'.²⁶ The fighting continues for some time and the *deva-s* go for protection to *Brahmā*, who succeeds in having *Tārā* given back to *Brhaspati*; but she is pregnant and he does not want her son. When the gods see the newly born baby they ask whose child he is. But *Tārā* is ashamed and does not answer until the baby himself threatens to curse her, because her silence prevents him from knowing his father. *Brahmā* convinces her to speak. She reveals that the child is *Soma's*, who gladly takes him and calls him *Budha*. Among the enlargements of the story the two most interesting are the description of *Tārā's* beauty (*Matsya P.* 23.29 ff) along with her falling in love (*Matsya P.* ib, *Devī Bhg.* I.11.7cd) and the quarrel between *Candra* and *Brhaspati* over the baby (*Bhg. P.* IX.14.11). The story centres, so to speak, on two pivots,

24. The episode of *Tārā-Candra* can be found in : *RV.* 10.109; *Atharva V.* 5.17.2-5; *Tāṇḍya Br.* 24.17.6; *Mbh.* *Udyoga parva*; *Harivaṁśa* 1.25, 42; *Garuḍa P.* I. 139.1-2; *Padma P.* *Sṛṣṭi kh.* 12.53-54 (ASS), 12.44-45 (Mor ed); *Brahma P.* 9.19-32; *BVP* IV. 59,80; *Bhg. P.* IX. 9.14.4-14; *Matsya P.* 23.29-24.7; *Vāyu P.* (Venk.) II. 28.28-44 ab; *Viṣṇu P.* IV. 6.10-33; *Devī Bhg. P.* I. 11.4-85; *Mudgala P.* III. 46.1 ff; *Baladeva Upādhyāya, op. cit.*, 253-56; *Mādhvācārya Śāstrī, op. cit.*, 669-72; *M. M. Sidheshwar Shastri Chitrao, op. cit.*, s.v. cf. also above p. 300.
25. 9.19 ff equal to *Vāyu* (Venk.) II. 28.28 ff.
26. Not to be confused with the famous battle against *Tārakāśura* for whose killing *Skanda* was born from *Pārvatī* and *Śaṅkara* (*Matsya* 130-39); *Padma, Sṛṣṭi* (Mor), 42-43; see other references in *Wendy D. O'Flaherty, Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 321-22.

namely the fighting between deva-s and asura-s known as 'tārakamaya yuddha or tārakāsuravat (Devī Bhg. I.11.67cd) or samarastārakāmayah (Bhg. P. IX.14.7) and the quarrel over the child. Great relevance, then, is given to factors other than seduction or rape; what matters indeed is that Candravamśa's first descendant, in one of whose śākhā-s there will be at least one famous avatāra—Kṛṣṇa—, was born from a woman not regularly married to the founder of the family. The purāṇic aim in telling such story, therefore, by stressing the role Tārā had in the birth of Budha, seems to be parallel to the biblical accounts of the ascendants of Jesus of Nazareth²⁷, i. e. the pedigree is not always 'pure', for some reason external elements creep in and put in it other blood.

Although the plot of the story is pretty fixed in all the purāṇa-s and the story is always put in the context of genealogy except in the BVP—yet each purāṇa develops it in its own peculiar way. Devī Bhg. and Matsya deserve special attention because they give importance to the description of Tārā's beauty and to the pleasures of Candra and Tārā's union, elements that will have great significance in the BVP. In passing I note the element of hatred present in Harivamśa I.25 and Bhg. P. IX.14.6, where it is said that Soma took Bṛhaspati's wife because of his hatred for him and the absence of any curse, which one would expect after having read the story of Indra-Ahalyā.

We have now to go as far back as possible into tradition to discover what was the original story and its message, if any. *RV 10.109* says that in the presence of Mitra and Varuṇa, Soma gives back a Brāhmajāyā (a Brāhmaṇa's wife) he had taken away and Bṛhaspati receives her.²⁸ It is not said that the Brahmajāyā is Bṛhaspati's

27. see Matthew 1.1 ff; Luke 4. cf. also the story of Nahuṣa in the Sūryavamśa, in which Rāmāvatāra will be born, and other similar cases.

28. सोमो राजा प्रथमो ब्रह्मजायां पुनः प्रायच्छह्णीयमानः ।
अन्वतिता वरुणो मित्र आसीदग्निर्होता हस्तगृह्या निनाय ॥२॥
ब्रह्मचारी चरति वेविषद्विषः स देवानां भवत्येकमङ्गम् ।
तेन जायामन्वविन्दद्वहस्पतिः सोमेन नीतां जुह्वं न देवाः ॥५॥

wife nor is it said that Soma had seduced or raped her.²⁹ Similar stories of taking and giving back women are indeed not uncommon in the *Saṁhitā*-s (see e. g. RV. 10. 85.39 ff...). The *Atharva Veda* V. 17. 2-5 retells the story and inserts some new verses in one of which the 'Brahmajāyā' is described as a *Tārakā* (star), a denotive that later in the *purāṇa*-s is understood as the proper name of the woman given back to *Bṛhaspati* and identified with his wife.³⁰ *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* (or *Pañcaviṁśati Br.*) XXIV. 18.6 adds, moreover, that Budha is Soma's son.³¹ So from the vedic literature the following elements can be deduced :

Soma (Candra) gives back to *Bṛhaspati* a *Brāhmaṇa*'s wife
he had taken

Such woman is a *Tārā*

Budha is Soma's son.

We have perhaps to suppose that the few hints we find in the *Veda*-s refer to some story or myth well-known to the listeners of those times but not sufficiently clear to us. However, although the elements from vedic literature were not many, they were enough to build the story I have outlined. What seems new in the *purāṇic* narrations are the fights i. e. *tārakamaya yuddha* and the contest for *Tārā*'s child. In other words by comparing the vedic and the *purāṇic* tradition of the story we find that the

29. The word 'nītām' (v. 5) does not imply necessarily 'rape'. According to Monier William's Dictionary such root never appears in the RV with such a meaning. Śāyana introduces the hymn in the following way :

अत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते । जुहूरिति वाङ् नाम । सा ब्रह्मणो जाया च ।
बृहस्पतेर्वचिस्वतित्वाद् बृहस्पतेर्जुहूर्नाम भार्या बभूव । कदाचित् किल्बि-
षमस्या दौर्भाग्यरूपेणासांचक्रे । अत एव स एनां पर्यत्याक्षीत् । अनन्तर-
मादित्यादयो देवा मिथो विचार्येनामकिल्बिषां कृत्वा पुनर्बृहस्पतये प्रादुरिति ।
तदत्र वर्ण्यते ।

i. e. The hymn refers to the following story : *Bṛhaspati* had a wife whose name was *Juhū* i. e. *Vāc*. Once he dismissed her owing to a fault of hers. Later the *deva*-s give her back to *Bṛhaspati*.

30. The new verse of the *Atharva Veda* we are interested in is :
यामाहुस्तारकैवा विकेशीति दुच्छुनां ग्राममवपद्यमानाम् etc.

Note that this woman is not only called *Tārakā* (star), but *विकेशी तारका* (hair-like star i. e. comet)

31. सौभाग्यो बुधः

characters of the purāṇic kathā are all taken from the Veda-s but are inserted in a probably completely new structure. The story, therefore, can be considered a good example of the saying इतिहासपुराणस्य वेदं संमुपद्ध्यते³². It is difficult, of course, to know whether the message conveyed by means of the purāṇic kathā is the same as the one meant by the Veda-s. Mādhvācārya Śāstrī, Baladeva Upādhyāya and other modern authors, who here follow a long tradition³³, interpret the purāṇic story as a symbol of astronomical (or astrological) facts, although they do not agree in the details of their explanation. The BVP in this case also goes its own way and it may be used to check whether the line of interpretation given by the above mentioned authors is sound or not.

c. Seduction stories in the Brahmaivarta Purāṇa

I have already noted that the BVP is different from the other purāṇa-s and that in narrating the seduction stories it goes its own way. If we now examine the difference more closely we find that it can be reduced to the fact that the BVP always relates the seduction stories in a fixed way, following a peculiar scheme, which even at first sight appears artificially composed. I have examined five stories of this kind in the BVP, i. e. the two already described, Ghṛtācī-Viśvakarman (BVP. I. 10.24 ff), Tulsī-Saṁkhacūḍa (BVP. II. 16) and Śacī-Nahuṣa (BVP. IV. 59) and from them I have prepared the following scheme. (see p. 332)

The scheme is divided into five rows: (1) an introduction dealing with the excitement, falling in love at first sight of one or both the lovers (2) lengthy description of the woman's beauty (3) dialogue between the two lovers, which follows fixed patterns: he proposes his love and gives the reasons for it, she refuses and counterposes her reasons (4) an intervening obstacle e. g. a sharp refusal from her side, a curse from somebody else or an intermezzo, a kind of breaking of the story, in which it seems that the romance just begun is going to end (5) description, at some length, of the pleasures following the union of the two lovers. This scheme is

32. Mbh. I. 1.204 ab; see also Skanda, Revā khaṇḍa I. 22; Nāradya II. 24.17. Some examples showing that such a claim is based on facts can be found in Baladeva Upādhyāya, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-61.

33. See Sidheshvar Shastri Chitrao, *op. cit.*, s. v. Ahalyā and Candra.

<i>Rows</i>	<i>Ghṛtaci-Viṣvakarman</i>	<i>Tulsi-Saṅkhaśūda</i>	<i>Śaci-Naḥuṣa</i>	<i>Indra-Ahalya</i>	<i>Tārā-Candra</i>
I	I. 10.24 H	II. 16	IV. 59	IV. 61	IV. 80
<i>Introduction</i> (Seeing excitement- fall in love)	×	She is excited and dreams of him	N ^o I and II are here reversed	×	×
II					
<i>Description</i> of the woman's beauty	×	×		×	×
III					
<i>Dialogue</i> a. He proposes (reasons)	×	He addresses her	He takes her	×	×
b. She refuses (reasons) etc....	×	×	×	×	×
IV					
<i>Obstacle</i> (or intermezzo) (refuse-curse -Brahmā appears)	reciprocal curse	Brahmā appears	curse to him & Kāma	She goes away	He rapes her
V					
<i>Pleasure</i> (description)	at the end of the curse in another life	×	He gets her and enjoys her	He takes her husband's shape and enjoy her. Curse	×

followed in all the kathā-s I have considered, even when the story has traditionally another pattern, as in the case of Indra-Ahalyā. In other words, the BVP superimposes its scheme on every narration where two lovers meet and enjoy themselves. In the stories of Indra-Ahalyā and Tārā-Candra for example the other texts do not dwell on the seduction itself, with the exception of the Matsya P. and Devī Bhg. in the case of the Tārā-Candra story. In narrating those kathā-s they have in mind the traditional consequences, namely the curse of Indra in the first and Budha's birth from Tārā in the second; consequences that the purāṇa-s reach in their narrations without being held up by details outside the frame of the story. The BVP, instead, first of all has in mind different aims than the other purāṇa-s and secondly it adds further teachings to the traditional ones attached to those stories. As for the aims, they are expressly declared; in the first story the aim is to show Indra's humiliation by Kṛṣṇa (BVP IV. 61.57) and in the other one it is to explain the reason for the Moon's phases and eclipses (BVP IV. 79. 63). As for the teachings, the BVP does not passively follow tradition but it is alert and attentively reflective on it. In fact the story is sometimes first narrated in brief according to the traditional pattern and then it is renarrated and enlarged following the above proposed scheme, through which only the new teachings are inserted and developed.³⁴ The way of narrating the seduction stories, therefore, is purposely and artificially moulded having in mind specific aims. It distinguishes the BVP from the other purāṇa-s and constitutes one of its contributions to purāṇic literature. It deserves, therefore, particular attention.

34. see for instance Indra-Ahalyā : BVP. IV. 61.7cd-10

पुनः श्रीदुर्मदः सोऽपि जहार गौतमप्रियाम् ॥7॥

तदा गौतमशापेन भगाङ्गश्च बभूव स ।

संप्राप यातनामिन्द्रः स्वाङ्गवेदनया पुरा ॥8॥

उच्चैस्तं जहसुर्दृष्ट्वा ऋषयो मनवस्तदा ।

देवाश्च मज्जिताः सर्वे मृततुल्यो बृहस्पतिः ॥9॥

तदा सहस्रवर्षं च तपस्तप्त्वा रवेः पुरा ।

रवेर्वरेण शक्रः स सहस्राक्षो बभूव ह ॥10॥

From śl. 12 onward the story is repeated and enlarged according to the above mentioned artificial scheme.

2. Literary Form

(a) All the texts I have considered up to now devote only a few śloka-s to the seduction itself, the only exception being the BVP. They usually give more stress to what precedes and follows the rape itself (or seduction), while the BVP develops at great length the portion of the story that goes from the moment the paramour sees the woman until the description of the final sexual pleasures. The other points are reduced to a minimum. So in the BVP the seduction is prevalent, it is not subordinate to other elements as in the other texts and possibly it has its own message.

The purāṇa-s are usually easy to interpret. There are, therefore, few commentaries on them and no proper system has ever been developed for their correct understanding. Some purāṇic passages, however, appear difficult at first and a proper yardstick of interpretation is badly needed. Seduction stories are surely difficult to understand in a religious text when the main criterion of judgement is based on morals only. Authors like Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Dayānanda Sarasvatī, Mādhvācārya, Śāstrī, Baladeva Upādhyāya³⁵ i. e. tradition from VII A. D. onward, are somewhat scandalized by such seduction stories and look for justifications for the 'misbehaviour' of Indra or Candra etc. They agree in interpreting Indra as meaning the Sun, Ahalyā the Night, Bṛhaspati the Moon. The Caritrakośa says that Indra-Ahalyā story should be interpreted as an allegory (rūpaka). Everybody seems to be afraid of interpreting the texts at their face value, although the Brāhmaṇa-s, as we have seen, do not propose any allegorical interpretation. This suggests that it is the change of moral climate from vedic times which makes the commentators rework the episodes in a moralistic way. Here, therefore, there seems to be scope to recapture the original atmosphere of the vedic story.

In ancient times the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā had laid down rules (nyāya-s) for the correct interpretation of all the vedic vidhi-s. One of the two schools into which the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā was divided, the Prabhākara, "held that no word was significant in isolation," but

35. For Kumārila Bhaṭṭa see *Tantravārtika*, p. 208; for Dayānanda Sarasvatī see *Rgvedādibhāṣyabhūmikā* quoted in Mādhvācārya Śāstrī, *op. cit.*, pp. 637-38; for Mādhvācārya Śāstrī see *op. cit.*, pp. 636 ff; for Baladeva Upādhyāya, see *op. cit.*, pp. 253 ff.

that words "become significant when joined together" in a sentence." Although the other "held that words have different senses of their own", it also accepted that "when they combine in a sentence... (they) yield a further sense"³⁶. We find also in the writers of the same schools that the context—*prakaraṇa*—plays an important role for interpreting passages³⁷. The *Alaṅkāra* writers later classified feelings, emotions, *rasa*-s etc.³⁸ expressed in a poem in order to understand the full significance of a passage. So both the *pūrvamīmāṃsīc* and the *alaṅkāra* writers laid stress on sentences, words and sounds, as bearers of meaning and feelings³⁹.

Current hermeneutics starts instead from other premises and is more sensitive to the influence of the broader context and the way in which the meaning of words and sentences is moulded by the structure. That is to say that the present hermeneutical principle is reversal of what it used to be in the past. Not from word to sentence and from sentence to context as a *ṭīkā*-writer would proceed, but from the structure of a work to the meaning of sentence and from these to words. The present hermeneutics has discovered the existence of fixed literary structures, constantly linked with a specific subject⁴⁰. It seems that such an hermeneutical principle has never been applied to any *purāṇic* text. The seduction stories of the BVP, however, are built according to such

36. see P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 1296.

37. see P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 1285, 1298, 1307, 1309

38. cf. *arthālaṅkāra*, *rasa*, *kāvya*, *rīti*, *guṇa* etc...

39. "Though the main purpose of the *Mīmāṃsā* is to regulate the procedure"; see P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, V, p. 1283 fn 2094 for the discussion on the word "*itikartavyatā*". I should speak here also of the *nāyahika*-s. I omit them because their way of interpreting, as far as our problem is concerned, is on the same line as the *alaṅkāra* writers and the *mīmāṃsīc*.

40. Some works on this subject can be consulted: S. E. Hyman : *The armed Vision. A study in the Method of Modern Literary Criticism*, New York, 1947; H. G. Gadamer *Wahrheit und Methode*, Tübingen, 1960; J. M. Robinson and J. B. Cobb, *The New Hermeneutics*, New York, 1964; R. W. Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic, and Word of God*, New York, 1966; K. Koch, *Was ist Formgeschichte?* 2nd ed. Neukirchen, 1967; Fr. Kainz, *Psychologie der Sprache*; J. T. Shipley, *Dictionary of World Literature*, s. v. "Form" by James Craig La Driere.

a rigid structure that recalls the literary form as described in the modern hermeneutics. As the main aim of interpreting a text is to understand the real message meant by the author or objectively expressed in a given passage, we can attempt any hermeneutical system that helps in understanding, provided it is not outside or against tradition. It seems, indeed, that the interpretation until now given of the seduction stories does not explain the message as meant by the BVP.

(b) Examining the above scheme a fact appears that should be carefully considered i. e. the presence of three main factors : (1) *a particular theme* : seduction of a woman. Such theme in the BVP is always narrated according to this scheme although in other texts the the frame of the narration is always different. (2) *An internal structure peculiar to that particular theme*. The above mentioned five points (see scheme at p 332) are arranged in such way to be the carrying structure of the story and are adapted to convey a particular message; a message that is essentially linked to that structure itself. (3) *Frequent or prevalent patterns or bardic formulas*. Although these patterns and formulas do not appear reading the above scheme, yet they are abundantly present in the seduction stories of the BVP as will be clear once we examine them in detail.

These three points are constitutive of the so called 'literary form' (or genus litterarium)⁴¹, so that proving their presence in the seduction stories is the best support for affirming that literary forms are present in the BVP.

1. *Frequent or prevalent patterns and bardic formulas*

Fixed formulas are present everywhere in Sanskrit literature⁴² and are abundant in the BVP too. The seduction stories here considered are no exception and the formulas are mainly concentrated in No 2 of the above scheme. So, for example, to describe the beauty of a woman we find the following constantly repeated ;

शरत्पङ्कजलोचनम् ।

रत्नभूषणभूषिता ।

तप्तकाञ्चनवर्णभा ।

41. see H. Gunkel, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Goettingen, 1931.

42. For a first information see P. L. Vaidya, *Harivamśa*, Critical edition, Poona, 1969, pp. XXXIX-XLVII.

चन्द्रकोटिसमाप्रभा ।

नवयौवनसौन्दरी (°संयुता; °संपन्ना)

सुपीनकठिनश्रोणी

These recurrent formulas constitute the frame into which the features of a woman are described. We find, moreover, prevalent patterns also in No. 3 and 5. So the dialogue—No. 3—and specially the woman's answer and reticence, hinges always on one of the following two points, 'I am already married or engaged and so I cannot comply with your wishes' or 'A woman is a saṁsāric snare which entices man and removes him from mukti' etc. The description of the final sexual pleasures—No. 5—is almost always delayed by a description of gardens, hills and groves where the lovers go to enjoy themselves. P. V. Vadya⁴³ and other authors proved the presence of bardic formulas and oral tradition in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. Although no specific study has as yet been made on them, such formulas are present also in the purāṇa-s, as is obvious to even the hastiest reader. And from the few formulas just mentioned, which have all the specific feature of the bardic tradition, we realize that they are not lacking even in our kathā-s. They bear witness to the presence of an oral transmission, beside the evident written tradition. This particular literary form reflects, indeed, the structure of the whole BVP. For a long period, in fact, the BVP evolved according to the rules of an oral tradition. And even when it was put into a literary form, it retained the influence of this tradition, for the different texts were (probably) elaborations of different local bardic versions. The actual result is that although we have at present a written text to interpret, in fact two different layers should be distinguished in it, with the effect that even the original form, which possibly was simply oral, is altered by the subsequent literary scheme. The two ways of composition are really different. A bard in fact adapts himself spontaneously to the tacit demands of an audience. He instinctively knows when to recite a poem, tell a story, compose a hymn etc. For its part, the audience of a sacred representation, for example of a Rāma Līlā or Kṛṣṇa Līlā, can easily perceive the different expressive means or literary forms used by the bard in conveying his message. But the same cannot be said when the oral

43. ib.

tradition has been fossilized in a written text. It is then the hard work of the interpreter to discover the one basic intention of the bard through the plurality of tools used to display it.⁴⁴ On the contrary the process that takes place when an author writes his thoughts and feelings is completely different, because the audience is not present and the composition is usually more free and personal. Analysing the above mentioned seduction stories it is not difficult to see that their literary form is somewhat shaped by the authors who wrote the stories but also that the oral or bardic formulas crept in to serve the purpose of the authors. Whether the formulas were bent to help the aim of the writers or the writers adapted their story according to the *kathā*-s transmitted by bards is outside the scope of this article. Here it is enough to note that the fixed formulas in No. 2 (description of a woman's beauty) share the peculiarity of an oral tradition, while the more flexible patterns of No. 3 and 5 (dialogue and pleasures at the end) possibly belong to a written tradition. In order to reach a sound conclusion, the first kind (which are fixed and are learnt by heart by the bards), cannot be taken in isolation, but must be analyzed as a whole. In this case, therefore, we should take from them only the general atmosphere they create, i. e. the importance of the feminine beauty and of the body. The other ones, by contrast, are more personal and free and admit of a more detailed and specific analysis. However they can also be interpreted as a whole because they too constitute a constant feature in all the versions. In this case they are important for the stress they give to 'pleasure'—No. 5—and to the legal and moral obstacles to it—No. 3.

2. *Internal structure*

The internal structure of the literary form peculiar to seduction stories in the BVP can be better grasped if the main themes of the *purāṇa* itself are kept in mind. Examining the above mentioned five points, we see not only that they form a unit by themselves, but also that they are intimately related to the main message of the BVP. So understanding the main ideas of the BVP helps in perceiving the deep meaning of this literary form. The BVP, indeed, is sensitive to love, pleasure and the body—under-

44. see for a general introduction A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Songs*, New York, 1965.

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stood not as mere human realities but as bearers of real and perpetual values. The description of a woman's beauty and the final pleasures (i. e. No 2, 5), always described at length as I have already said, aims at stressing the importance of body and *līlā*—or, in this context, ecstatic rapture of *ānanda*. According to Caitanic doctrine, largely followed in the BVP, Kṛṣṇa i. e. the Supreme, is a body made of *cit* and *ānanda*; his loves are real bodily loves and yet they are mystical. The description of a body or of bodily (or sensual) pleasures is meant to refer to concrete human bodies, i. e. it is not merely symbolic, and yet body and pleasure are not only human, because they identify with *cit* and *ānanda* and are overlaid with spiritual value.⁴⁵

The dialogue—No. 3—, which stresses the difficulties of loving that come from external conventions ('I am already married' etc.) and from a pessimistic view on the role of feminine sex ('A woman is a *sāṃsāric* snare' etc.), exalts the role of love, which is never prevented from taking possession of a person and transforming him or her. Love prevails over all obstacles, even moral, and over the curse which is the most potent expression of ineluctability—No. 4. Love will surely be victorious, if not in this 'janma' in the next. The chosen scheme, therefore, conveys a theological-philosophical message not different from the central doctrine of the whole purāṇa. The five points constitutive of this scheme are juxtaposed with a specific aim in mind, that is to convey a doctrine. Form and content are interrelated; the structure is prepared to transmit a teaching and the teaching takes shape in that particular structure or form. And this is a further proof for the presence of a literary form.

3. *A particular theme*

The theme introduced in these stories is 'seduction' i. e. sexual pleasure with a woman, often somebody else's wife, through enticement. The theme, as we have seen, is considered immoral and therefore is often re-interpreted in some purāṇas and by some commentators so that the immoral conduct is somehow justified, although the Brāhmaṇas had hinted at them without giving any valuation. This attitude of 'moral justification',

45. see S. K. De, *The early History of Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 225-447.

therefore, reveals that the original story and its message were no longer understood or at least no longer shared. The vedic times, in fact, were still mythopoetic. We can suppose that the story hinted at in the vedic literature was indeed a myth; the more so when we think that the described moral misbehaviour was attributed to gods and, in the case of Indra, to the chief of gods. Myth is mainly intent to express a religious intuition. The so called 'immoral' misbehaviour is in fact meant to convey the intuition of the ṛṣi in the frame of a myth. The original vedic myth is not known; the story, container of that myth, remained in the purāṇa-s but its spirit was lost or at least not accepted and that gave occasion to the rising of a moralistic attitude.

The BVP, instead, is not worried about immorality. It introduces a fresh interpretation of the stories bringing in a new understanding. The theme that had scandalized some other purāṇa-s fit well into the general teaching of the BVP. The purāṇa does not feel any necessity of drawing a moral from the story; on the contrary it stresses just those points that had been source of difficulties for the other purāṇa-s and commentators. So on the one side the BVP purifies the kathā-s from the moralistic crust of the post-vedic times, on the other it uses those very stories to pass on a new message, transforming them into conveyers of new religious intuitions. Tantric influence and Caitanic doctrine can explain, it seems, BVP's new attitude, that gives it the strength to convey a new message through old stories.

The case of using old stories to teach new doctrines is not isolated to the BVP. We can say that this procedure is symptomatic of what happened in the history of Indian culture at large. It is known, in fact, that the whole epic and purāṇic mythology even if its origins were earlier, developed after the upaniṣad-s i. e. after a movement that had tried to rationalize everything even to the detriment of myth. The epic and purāṇic mythology is not fruit of a 'unreflective' mentality (as the mentality which is the root of myth is often defined), but it is the result of an evolution that by-passed the philosophical rigour of the upaniṣadic times and was contemporaneous to the philosophical darśana-s. In the history of Indian culture, in fact, we witness '*mythological waves*.' Any time a new sect or a new religious movement begins, a new awareness of myth springs up. Old stories are reassumed and a

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new mythological understanding is superimposed on the ancient patterns. So when we see in the BVP that old stories are reinvested with new sensibility, aiming at suggesting a new message, we can assume that we are facing once again another mythological wave. In fact the BVP is not creating a new message; it takes it almost surely, as I have already hinted, from Caitanya and Tantrism. But the BVP remains, in some respects, the mouthpiece of the new current and mythological sensibility; it applies the newly developed doctrines (at least as far as the Caitanic ones are concerned) to the stories recreating in them a new spirit, enlivening them and purifying them from the encrustations of a tradition that had lost or not accepted the meaning of myth hidden in them.

We can, therefore, say by way of conclusion that the seduction stories in the BVP are bearers of a message. They are on the one side representative of a new mythological wave, that reinvests old stories with new sensibility, makes them conveyers of fresh doctrines through new interpretation. On the other, through the structure they have been inserted in, they show that also in the purāṇa-s there are literary forms or genera litteraria, a fact not yet pointed out in purāṇic literature, but that can prove to be rich in results as these very stories already attest. Through them, moreover, the interweaving between oral and written tradition could also be discovered and it was possible, as we have seen, to have a foretaste of the central message of a whole purāṇa.

The richness of results obtained in contrasting the seduction stories in the BVP against the background of the same stories narrated in other purāṇa-s should encourage further comparative research.

THE CULT OF BRAHMĀ—A BRIEF REVIEW.*

BY

S. K. DAVE

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन प्रतिपादितं यद् वेदेतिहास-
पुराणादिषु ब्रह्मा प्रमुखो देवो वर्तते । किन्तु कालक्रमेण वैष्णव-
शैवशाक्तादिसंप्रदायानां प्रामुख्यात् ब्रह्मणः पूजादिकं लुप्तम् । इदानीमपि
ब्रह्मणः कानिचित् तीर्थानि मन्दिराणि च उपलभ्यन्ते येन स्पष्टं यत्
प्राचीनकाले ब्रह्मणोऽपि पूजादिकं प्राधान्येन प्रचलितमासीत् ।]

The cult of Brahmā, though it has lost its ground now a days, was one of the important cults in the epic and Purāṇic period. In the Vedic literature, epics, Smritis, and the Purāṇas, he is generally charged with the duty of creation. L. Von Schroder¹ states that Brahmā is a tribal God, who was eulogised by the Kurus to deprecate Kṛṣṇa. But the downfall of the Kurus resulted in the Supersession of the cult of Brahmā by the cult of Kṛṣṇa. This view of him does not seem to be fully correct as the germs of this cult are found in the Vedic literature. In the Ṛgveda there is no direct mention of the God Brahmā, but the word Prajāpati which was used afterward as the synonym of Brahmā is clearly stated in cosmological hymns.² In that hymn the poet inquires who is the first born God that created the world and upholds it. And in the last verse he is invoked as Prajāpati—"the lord of the creatures". The word Brahman is used for the first time in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa³ and the Brāhmaṇas contain many legends about Prajāpati having created the world. He is responsible for every creation and he is able to do this by his Rājasic Śakti.⁴ Other synonym used there is Svayambhū Nārāyaṇa. The Brāhmaṇas used it from their liturgical point of view but the various Upaniṣads view it from the philosophical stand point. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad mentions Prajāpati as born from Brahman, so it is not the synonym but the different entity according to that Upaniṣad.⁵ His more concrete form is found in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad also. He is described as

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the first of the Gods who is the creator, preserver, and the destroyer of this world. But the cult of Brahmā and his worshippers are not at all mentioned in the Vedic literature.

The great epic Mahābhārata eulogises Brahmā as the creator, Rajas incarnate and the real adviser to the Gods.⁶ Four Vedas have sprung up from his four mouths. He is described as Prajāpati also. He created six sons (Mānasa Putras) from whom this mortal world was created. But this great epic does not give any account of the sect which included Brahmā-worship⁷ and any account of the sect which inculcated the worship of Brahmā.

Thus during the epic period, we find that the Brahmā had a small following but in the Purāṇas, viz the Padma⁸, the Mārkaṇḍeya⁹, the Bhaviṣya,¹⁰ the Vāmana¹¹ and the Devī Bhāgavata¹² his glory as a supreme God was upheld. Lord Brahmā is said to have taken the Rajas form to create the Universe. He becomes twofold at the time of creation. He had four or five heads, a wonderful look with long beard. He was well versed in the study of the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas. He was identified with the Puruṣa of the famous Puruṣasūkta of the Ṛgveda. He was addressed as Pitāmaha at many places, he was religion incarnate. He can be pleased very easily and therefore the Gods, Demons and the people try to please him. He gave them the boons which sometimes harrassed him also. He is one and the first member of the Trinity. His assembly is on the golden city on the top of the mount Meru. This city is ten thousand Yojanas expanded from the centre, having equal Quadrangles. He had incestuous relations with his daughter and his fifth head was cut off with nail by Lord Śiva. Even then he is very pious, trustworthy and friend, philosopher and guide of the Gods and the mortals. He often prays Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti to fulfil the desires of his devotees, but anyhow he helps them. All this Purāṇic description show that cult of Brahmā must have been in vogue and it was gradually falling down. Not only that but the Bṛhatsaṃhita,¹³ the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Matsya prescribe the mode of making the images or the idol of Brahmā. This shows that the Brahmā worship had not died out by that time. Moreover according to the Matsya the priest is required to be ब्रह्मोपेन्द्रहरप्रिय (Mat. 265.4). Brahma-Mantras are to be chanted in the consecration ceremony of the images of Brahmā (Mat. 266.39) and the Gods who are to be called out at the time of conse-

cration of the images of any God included Brahmā also. (Mat. 266. 42) All these reference prove the popularity of Brahmā worship at the time when the Adhyāyas 258-270 of the Matsya were written; i. e. between 550-650 A. D. according to Dr. Hazra. The Padma lays down the mode of his worship also. From this it is evident that the Brahmā enjoyed a considerable importance during that period. The Padma and the Mārkaṇḍeya are of comparatively late date. So we cannot form any clear idea of the exact period when the cult of Brahmā was popular among the people and also the characteristics of the people of this sect.

The sectarian rivalries began to become more perceptible during the Purāṇic period and Brahmā, the first major God of the Hindu Trinity, suffered much. Śiva and Viṣṇu who had acquired a prominent place in the Hindu pantheon put him aside. Brahmā remained only as the adviser to the Gods and the mortals also. He advised them to worship either Śiva, Śakti or Viṣṇu for the fulfilment of the desire or victory. He granted boons to the Gods and the demons, but his place among the Gods was not higher than those of Śiva and Viṣṇu or Śakti. The Bhaviṣyottara¹⁴ Upapurāṇa, the date of which falls between 700-800 A. D., has thrown down Brahmā into the background and here is not a single Vrata in which Brahmā figures as the principal deity. On the other hand he is found to occupy a secondary position in many of the vows and donations. Even the other Purāṇas and religious books written after that period do not mention the worship of Brahmā, therefore it seems that Brahmā worship was losing its ground.¹⁵

The solution towards overcoming sectarian rivalry caused the amalgamation of these three deities—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Though the germs of Trinity idea were seen from the time of Maitrāyīṇi Upaniṣad¹⁶ yet it seems to be true that it developed after 800 A. D. They were declared to correspond in respect with Sattva, Rajas and Tamas aspects of the Absolute and they are said to be the acting agents as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe.

If we look into the details of the causes of the fall of Brahmā worship, it seems that the sectarian rivalries lowered down the position of Brahmā on the ground that no scripture including the Vedas describe Brahmā as the real representative of any natural phenomenon.

Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti cults were becoming very popular and they were canvassed by a large number of devotees. For this purpose they created the various myths on the basis of religious books also viz. (1) Brahmā was born from the navel of Viṣṇu. (2) Brahmā is only able to advice the Gods etc to worship either Viṣṇu, Śiva or Śakti for the remedy. (3) Brahmā even though is known as the creator of the world, he is able to do it only by the power given to him either by Śakti or Viṣṇu. (4) He had incestuous relations with his daughter and Śiva cut off his fifth head with his nail. All such distinguishing characters, described fully in the above mentioned and other myths, eventually became revolting to the conscience of the common man of the society and Brahmā who was known to be self created (Svayambhū) and the first member of the Hindu Trinity, charged with the creation of this world, was not properly respected by the people. The Brahmā worshippers gradually decreased in number and by twelfth or thirteenth century A. D., they almost lost their ground. Only a few temples were consecrated for his worship. The only ones known and extant are at Puṣkara near Ajmer in Rajasthan, Khedbrahma in the north Gujarat, Dudahi, Khajuraha, Vasant garha, Unkal and Khee, a Viśva Brahmā temple at Alampur.¹⁷ Some ancient images of Brahmā found from the various places of excavations also prove that the people were taking much interest in the worship of Brahmā in good old days but the cumulative effects of the sectarian rivalry led to the decline of his popularity as well as his worship. Now a days Brahmā is remembered and invoked only as one of the deities in various rituals.

References

1. L. Von. Schroder, Indian literature and culture. Leipzig 1887. A. D. Pusalker, Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas. Introduction Page 28.
2. Rgveda X. 121.
3. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI.2.3.1 There it is stated "In the beginning there was only Brahman. This created the Gods and after it had created the worlds, it gave these worlds as dwellings, this earth world to Agni, the atmosphere to Vāyu and heavens to Sūrya."
4. A. D. Pusalker. Op. cit., pp. 7-8.
5. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad V.5.1.
Cf. आप एवेदमग्र आसुताः सत्यमसृज्यन्त, सत्यं ब्रह्मप्रजापतिं, प्रजापति-
देवान् ।

6. Mahābhārata. Ādiparva 1. 29-32 cf. also Vana Parva. 203.10-15 and Vāmana Purāṇa Adhyāya 43.16 ff.
7. Mahābhārata. Ādi Parva. 196.7; Śanti Parva 200. 30-31; 340.42; Vana Parva 100.8, Droṇa Parva. 94. 53-58.
8. Padma Purāṇa-Sṛṅkhaṇḍa. Also see R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs. pp 121-122 for detailed description.
9. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
10. Bhaviṣya Purāṇa 1.17.5 सृजत्येष जगत्कृत्स्नं पाति संहरते तथा । (२) नास्ति ब्रह्मसमो देवो नास्ति ब्रह्मसमो गुरुः । Ibid. 1.17. 42b (३) सर्वयज्ञतपोदानतीर्थवेदेषु यत्फलम् । तत्फलं कोटिगुणिनं कर्मद्वेषः प्रतिष्ठया । Ibid 1.17.17
11. Vāmana Purāṇa Ad.2.23; 39.20-23; 43.36; 47.3-4; 2.54; 2.27; 43.36; 22. 44; 76.4; 67.101; 70.77; 76.3 etc.
12. Devī Bhāgavata III.7.25; 8.50; 9.4-25; 28-30. III 2.1-36; VI.31.19-22; 10.17-18; VIII 1.44; 2.38; 46. 25-27; 13.115-125 etc.
13. Br̥hat Saṃhitā, chapter 58 also op. cit., p. 47.14 Matsya Purāṇa chapters 258.70.
14. R. C Hazra "The Bhaviṣyottara Upapurāṇa, a non sectarian Upapurāṇa of wide popularity", JOI Vol III. No. 1, Sept. 1953
15. Karmakar. A. P., The religions of India, Vol I, p. 65.
16. Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad IV. 1-5.
17. For details see Rajkumar Arora, Historical and cultural data from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, pp 77-79. Also see P. G. Lalye, Studies in Devī Bhāgavata, pp 270 280.

*Notes and Comments—*A NOTE ON H. H. WILSON'S INTERPRETATION OF
THE ROLE OF RAJAS IN COSMIC CREATION IN
THE VIṢṆU PURĀṆA

By

ARVIND SHARMA

I

One of the traditional topics with which the Purāṇas deal is that of "creation" or *sarga*.¹ The Viṣṇu Purāṇa deals with this topic at the very outset as it were, in Book I. While describing the process of creation it deals with the role of the three *guṇas*—*saṭtva*, *rajas* and *tamas*—in that process. H. H. Wilson offers the following comment on the role of the three *guṇas* in the process of creation. After the emergence of Ahaṅkāra, creation proceeds through the operation of the three *guṇas* thus :

Vaikaṛika, that which is productive, is the same as the Satvika, or that which is combined with the property of goodness. Taijasa Ahankāra is that which is endowed with Tejas, "heat" or "energy", in consequence of its having the property of Rajas, "passion" or "activity"; and the third kind Bhūtādi or "elementary", is the Tāmasa, or has the property of darkness. From the first kind proceed the sense; from the last, the rudimental unconscious elements; both kinds, which are equally of themselves inert, being rendered productive by the cooperation of the second, the energetic or active modification of Ahankāra which is therefore said to be the origin of both the senses and the elements.²

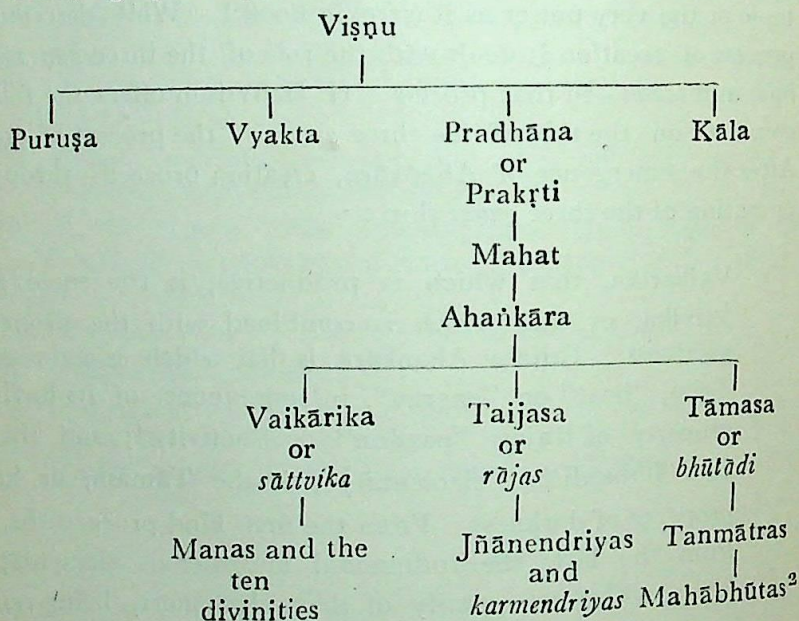
It is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that H. H. Wilson has failed to distinguish adequately here between the "Sāṅkhya and Paurāṇic doctrines"³ to use his own expression.

1. See S. G. F. Brandon, ed., *A Dictionary of Comparative Religion*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970, p. 518.
2. H. H. Wilson, *The Vishnu Purāṇa*, Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1961, p. 15 fn. 23.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 13, fn. 22.

II

The actual account in the Purāṇa, even as translated by H. H. Wilson himself, ascribes the "elemental creation proceeding from the principle of egotism" to its being "affected by the property of darkness", that is *amas*. It then states: "The organs of the sense are said to be the passionate products of the same principle"—namely, *ahaṅkāra*—as it is "affected by foulness" or *rajas*. Then it is said that "the ten divinities proceed from egotism affected by the principle of goodness, as does the mind."¹

In other words, if one represented the process as stated in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa graphically, then the following diagram will result.



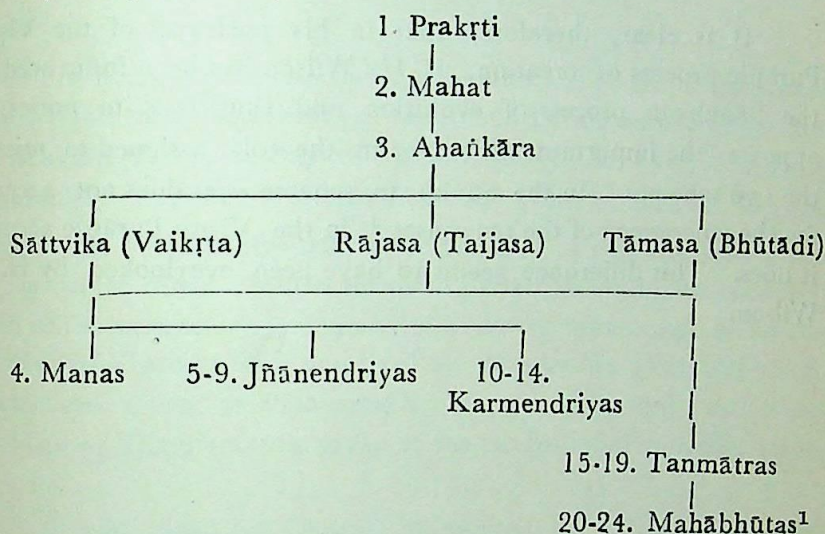
1. Ibid., p. 16.

2. The following is a useful summary of the account, although it seems to leave out a few elements. "The *Vishnu Purana* begins with an account of the creation of the universe by Vishnu. Vishnu in this account is Brahman, of one essence but containing in his own nature the entire universe. He exists in the forms of Spirit (Puruṣa), Primary Matter (Prakṛti) and eternal time (Kāla) which brings about the connection and separation of Puruṣa and Prakṛti.

When the time of creation arrives, Vishnu stimulates the immutable Puruṣa and the mutable Prakṛti; the *guṇas* are stirred into activity and the first evolved principle is brought forth. This principle, called Mahat ("the

III

Now if, along with it one considers the process of the evolution of the universe as described in the Sāṅkhya School of Hindu Philosophy one can note both the similarities and the differences between the Sāṅkhyan and Purāṇic versions. According to Sāṅkhya the process may be charted thus.



As we are particularly concerned in comparing the role of *rajas* in the two schemes we should note that in Sāṅkhya after Ahaṁkāra "the evolutionary course bifurcates into a purely psychi-

Great") or Buddhi ("Intellect") consists of the active but unseparated *guṇas*... From the threefold Mahat then comes forth the threefold Ahaṁkāra... The threefold Ahaṁkāra is enveloped by Mahat-Buddhi and from it come forth the final elements of primary creation. Ahaṁkāra under the predominant influence of *tamas* brings forth the five subtle elements (sound, touch, sight, taste and smell) and the corresponding five gross elements (ether, wind, fire, water and earth). Ahaṁkāra under the predominant influence of *rajas* brings forth the five sense organs (ear, skin, eye, tongue, and nose) and the five organs of action (voice, hands, feet and the organs of procreation and excretion). From Ahaṁkāra under the predominant influence of Sattva comes forth mind (*manas*), the coordinator of all sense impressions and the producer of perceptions and thoughts (Thomas J. Hopkins, *The Hindu Religious Tradition*, Belmont, California : Dickenson Publishing Co. 1971, pp. 99-100.

1. T. M. P. Mahadevan, *Outlines of Hinduism*, Bombay, Chetana Ltd., 1970, p. 121.

cal branch and a physical branch. In the former, the dominant *guṇa* is *sattva*; in the latter, *tamas*. *Rajas* provides the dynamism and force for both."¹ Thus *Rajas* by itself does not produce anything; in the Sāṅkhyan scheme the senses are produced by *sattva* and not by *rajas*.

IV

It is clear, therefore, that in his portrayal of the Viṣṇu Purāṇic process of creation, H. H. Wilson has been influenced by the Sāṅkhyan process of evolution and thus fails to notice, it appears, the important difference in the role assigned to *rajas* in the two schemes. In the Sāṅkhyan scheme *rajas* does not account for the emergence of the ten senses,² in the Viṣṇu Purāṇic account it does. This difference seems to have been overlooked by H. H. Wilson.

1. *Ibid.*

2. In Vijñānabhikṣu's "slightly different account of the evolution of the cosmos", however, it does (see Jadunath Sinha, *A History of Indian Philosophy* Vol. II [Calcutta: Central Book Agency, (1952) p. 17].

A NOTE ON LUNAR MONTHS AS NAMED ON VIṢṆU'S TWELVE NAMES

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

The names to the twelve lunar months are given on the names of the Nakṣatra-s (asterisms) of the moon falling on the day of the Purnamāsī (full-moon day) of a month (cf. Pāṇini, IV.2.21 'साऽस्मिन् पूर्णमासीति'). But in the Dharma-śāstra works as well as in some astrological works twelve particular names of Viṣṇu are also given to the twelve lunar months for some particular religious purposes, such as the *nāmakaraṇa* ceremony of a newly born baby, or for the worship of Viṣṇu in each month of the year by his (Viṣṇu's) particular name given to that month. We generally find two separate lists of Viṣṇu's names given to the twelve lunar months; viz.—

1. List given by Gārgya as quoted by Mitra-miśra in his *Saṃskāra-prakāśa* in connection with the *nāmakaraṇa* ceremony of a child, to whom the name (i.e. Viṣṇu's name) of the month in which the child is born is also to be given besides the other three names as enjoined in the Dharma-śāstra ("तच्च नाम चतुर्विधं कुलदेवतासम्बद्धं माससम्बद्धं नक्षत्रसम्बद्धं व्यावहारिकं चेति ।" *Saṃskāra-pr.*). The list is as follows :—

तत्र मासनामान्याह गार्ग्यः—

मासनाम गुरोर्नाम दद्याद् बालस्य वै पिता ॥

कृष्णोऽनन्तोऽच्युतश्चक्रो वैकुण्ठोऽथ जनार्दनः ॥

उपेन्द्रो यज्ञपुरुषो वासुदेवस्तथा हरिः ।

योगीशः पुण्डरोकाक्षो मासनामान्यनुक्रमात् ॥ इति ॥

These names of the twelve months are counted from Mārgaśīrṣa to Kārtika (November to October), as remarks Mitra-miśra— "अनुक्रमोऽत्र मार्गशीर्षादिकः" According to the *Madana-ratna*, however, the order of the months may be taken either from Mārgaśīrṣa or from Caitra. ("मार्गशीर्षादिश्चैत्रादिवर्ग क्रमः"); but a separate list of the twelve months beginning from Caitra is given by Garga :—

चन्द्रादिमासनामानि वैकुण्ठोऽथ जनार्दनः ।
 उपेन्द्रो यज्ञपुरुषो वासुदेवो हरिस्तथा ॥
 योगेशः पुण्डरीकाक्षः कृष्णोऽनन्तोऽच्युतस्तथा ।
 चक्रधारीति नामानि क्रमादाहुर्मनोषिणः ॥

(q. in *Samskāra-Pr.*)

Both these lists are identical, only the order differs. But most authorities agree on the मार्गशोर्षादिक order.

2. The second list to be utilised for the worship of Viṣṇu in each lunar month on its twelfth day (*dvādaśī tithi*) is given by Varāha-mihira in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (105. 14-15) as follows :—

मृगशोर्षाद्याः केशवनारायणमाधवाः सगोविन्दाः ।
 विष्णुमधुसूदनाख्यौ त्रिविक्रमो वामनश्चैव ॥
 श्रीधरनामा तस्मात् सहस्रीकेशश्च पद्मनाभश्च ।
 दामोदर इत्येते मासाः प्रोक्ता यथासख्यम् ॥

These twelve names of Viṣṇu given to the twelve lunar months from Mārga-śīrṣa are meant for the purpose of Viṣṇu's worship with fast on the *dvādaśī* (twelfth) day of each month :—

मासनाम समुपोषितो नरो द्वादशीषु विधिना प्रकीर्त्तयन् ।
 केशवं समभिपूज्य तत्पदं याति यत्र न हि जन्मजं भयम् ॥

(*ibid.* śl. 16)

It is to be noted here that these twelve names of Viṣṇu given to the twelve months in this second list are the same and in the same order as given in the *Janārdana stuti* uttered by the earth (Dharaṇī) in the *Varāha-Purāṇa* (l. 25-28) as हरेर्न्यास- (or °न्यास-) नामानि. The Gopī-s in the *Bhāg.-P.* (X. 6.20) also utter these same twelve names of Viṣṇu associating them with the twelve limbs of baby Kṛṣṇa, but in the generally accepted order of the limbs in a *nyāsa*, from forehead to the feet ("द्वादशाङ्गेषु ललाटादिषु केशवादिद्वादशनामभिः"—Śrīdhara) besmearing them with cow-dung for their protection:—

"रक्षां चक्रुश्च शकृता द्वादशाङ्गेषु नामभिः ।" (20 cd)

The *Ācāra-mayūkha* also gives these twelve names of Viṣṇu (केशवादि) and associates them with twelve limbs of the body for painting them with *tilaka* (or sectarian mark made with sandal-wood etc.). Here, although the names of Viṣṇu are the same and in the

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same order as in the *Varāha P. stuti* of Viṣṇu by Dharaṇī, yet the order of the limbs differ. But these twelve names of Viṣṇu are the same as the names of the twelve months given by Varāha-mihira as noted above.

Thus, the third purpose of these twelve names of Viṣṇu as given to the twelve months of a year is the *nyāsa* applied by the eulogiser to the limbs of his body for their protection by the deity invoked by his twelve names.

In Memoriam—

PANDITARAJA RAJESHWARA SASTRI DRAVID

In the passing away on 6th March 1977 of Panditaraja Rajeshwar Sastri, the world of traditional Sanskrit learning lost one who was perhaps the last of the old-world giants. The All-India Kashiraj Trust lost its main inspirer and Maharajah of Banaras his Vasishtha and Yajnavalkya.

Sastriji belonged to a well-known line of Sanskrit Pandits from the Tamil country who had established themselves in the headquarters of Sanskrit, Kasi. He was born on 20 Aug. 1899 as the only son of the well-known Mahamahopadhyaya Dravida Lakshmana Sastri, son of Ramchandra Shastri Ghanpathi. Mahamahopadhyaya Subrahmanya Sastri was his maternal grandfather. He studied *Veda* with Pt. Balam Bhatta Godbole and Sastras with his own father. The Sastra in which he passed first is *Nyāya*. The same Sastra, he studied further with Mahamahopadhyaya Vamacharana Bhattacharya; and when he was only eighteen, he composed a commentary on the *Rāmarudrī* and was applauded by Mahamahopadhyaya Pramathanatha Bhattacharya and Phanibhushana Tarkavagisa. Later, he wrote commentaries on other *Nyāya* texts, as also on some texts in other Sastras.

When I was young I saw him in Madras as an active participant in the Conference of the Varnasrama Swarajya Sangha which had been organised to protest against some of the then Government's legislative inroads into the Hindu social structure. I attended the meetings of that Sangha chiefly to listen to the Sanskrit speeches of reputed Pandits from different parts of India. The one Pandita whose image and Sanskrit speeches still remain with me is Rajeshwara Sastri. I attended all his other lectures arranged in the City and I was surprised to find that apart from *Veda* and *Nyāya*, he was at home in *Āyurveda* and Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* from both of which he was quoting profusely. As I grew and had opportunities to take part in Sanskrit activities in other parts of India, I was particular in establishing contacts with Sastriji for whom I had developed an esteem and admiration. Our contacts grew into closer relations, thanks to the opening of the Purana-project of the All-India Kashiraj Trust. He had mastered not merely the

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customary *Darśanas*, but also in the latter part of his life and more recently *Jyotiṣa* (Astronomy) and *Artha* or *Rājanīti Śāstra*. Especially regarding *Arthaśāstra* and the commentary *Jayamaṅgala* on it, he wrote to me and discussed with me many points. He taught traditional political science as a new branch of study in the Sanskrit University and his own Sanga Veda Pathasala and brought out his own editions of the *Kāmandakīya Nīti* and *Kautilya*, the latter with his new commentary 'Vaidika-siddhānta-saṁrakṣaṇī', a title which shows his approach to the subject of politics. On his findings and solutions to problems in *Jyotiṣa*, he had more than once given long expositions to me.

Sastriji was a crusader for Dharma and traditional Hindu codes of conduct, ideals and culture. He wrote several books and tracts on defence of Hindu practices, including Cow protection. He was prominently associated with the Maharajah in the work of the Hindu Parishad.

As his family had lived near the quarters of the Maharashtrian Pandits in Banaras and as he had studied with some of them, he was a fluent speaker in Marathi. He was also proficient in Hindi and was especially devoted to the *Ramacaritamūnasa*.

Sastriji was a life-long teacher and had been head of the Vallabhram Salagram Sanga Veda Vidyalaya at Ramghat, Banaras. This Vidyalaya was founded in 1921 and bears a foundation inscription in Sanskrit composed by his father. Sastriji upheld the ancient Indian ideal of abstaining from the sin of teaching for fee, *bhṛtakādhyāpana*. But voluntary help and honours unsought poured in from patrons, Government and all quarters.

More than his learning and the active work he did, it was the exemplary way in which he lived in his small secluded *Āśrama*-like place like a *Rṣi*, that was remarkable. Indeed he was the living example of a *Rṣi*.

Besides several titles showered on him by the Sanskrit world, the Government gave him the title of Padmabhushan. At the recent IIIrd International Sanskrit Conference at Paris, homage was paid to him in the 'In Memoriam' session on the opening day.

—V. R.

Books and Articles by Pt. Rajeshwar Sastri

- १—न्यायसिद्धान्तमुक्तावलीटीका—रामरुद्री ।
- २—आत्मतत्त्वविवेक-टिप्पणी ।
- ३—सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी-टिप्पणी ।
- ४—गोपजातिविषयकनिबंधः ।
- ५—भारतभू-गोहितत्वविमर्शः ।
- ६—कामन्दकीयनीतिसारस्य जयमङ्गला-उपाध्यायनिरपेक्षा टीकाभ्यां सह सम्पादनम् ।
- ७—निरङ्कुशतानिराकृतिः ।
- ८—सनातनधर्मप्रदीप विस्तृत टिप्पणी ।
- ९—अवच्छेदकत्वादिविमर्शः ।
- १०—हिन्दूधर्मस्वायोगस्य प्रश्नानामुत्तराणि ।
- ११—शान्तिका अग्रदूत (भारतीय राजनीति शास्त्र का दिग्दर्शन)
- १२—वेदों का अपौरुषेयत्व ।
- १३—तिथिग्रहणविवेक ।
- १४—कौटिलीयम् अर्थशास्त्रम् 'वैदिकसिद्धान्तसंरक्षिणीटीकायां क्रोडपत्रेण च सहितम् ।

Articles

- १—बालविवाहे का क्षतिः? (ब्राह्मणमहासम्मेलनपत्रिका, शक १८५१)
- २—सहवासयोग्यवयसः परामर्शः („ „)
- ३—मनोविज्ञानशास्त्रसम्मत्या वेदेष्वपौरुषेयत्वसिद्धिः (ब्राह्मण-महासम्मेलनपत्रिका, शक १८५३)
- ४—नीतिधर्मं विना न प्रवर्तते (अखण्डभारत पत्रिका)
- ५—धर्म और नीति के स्वरूप (गीताधर्म, पूना, रजत जयन्ती विशेषाङ्क)
- ६—जयमङ्गलायां एकः प्रघट्टकः जयमङ्गलाकारकालनिर्णयश्च (अखिल भारतीय प्राच्य विद्या परिषद्, कश्मीर-श्रीनगर)
- ७—अभिहितान्वयवादः अन्विताभिधानादश्च
- ८—पुराणसंशोधने भारतीयराजनीतेः सम्यगालोचनमावश्यकम् ('पुराणम्' पत्रिका, सन् १९६१)
- ९—भारतीयराजनीतौ पुराणपञ्चलक्षणम् ('पुराणम्' सन् १९६२)
- १०—पुराणकर्तुर्महर्षिवेदव्यासस्य चिरजीवित्वम् ('पुराणम्' सन् १९६४)
- ११—शिवपुराणविषयकं वक्तव्यम् ('पुराणम्' सन् १९६५)
- १२—श्रीशङ्करजयन्त्युत्सवस्योपयोगिता (पद्यात्मको लेखः)
- १३—योगः—स्वरूपम् उपयोगिता च (योगभक्तिदर्शन) सन् १९६६
- १४—ऋषीणामप्रतारकत्वम् (सन् १९६६)
- १५—श्रीगुरुः शरणम् (म. म. गोपीनाथकविराजअभिनन्दनग्रन्थ सन् १९६७)

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- १६—देहल्यां सञ्जातायां राजशास्त्रपरिषदि संप्रेषितो लेखः
 १७—वाचस्पतिमिश्राः भारतीयराजनीतिश्च ('मित्रवाणी' पत्रिका,
 वाचस्पतिविशेषाङ्क, शक १८८५)
 १८—आमुखम् (तर्कसंग्रह-शक्तिसंजीवनी सन् १९६७)
 १९—शुक्नीतिभूमिका (चौखम्बासंस्करण सन् १९६८)
 २०—सिद्धान्तशिरोमणिभूमिका
 २१—शिक्षात्रयप्रस्तावना (प. प. श्रीवासुदेवानन्दसरस्वती—संवत्
 २००८ स्वामिग्रन्थमाला, पूना)
 २२—भारतीयराजनीतिः—तात्त्विक विवेचनम् ('सूर्योदयः' पत्रिका
 सन् १९६८)
 २३—शान्तिका अग्रदूत ('श्रीकृष्ण संदेश' मथुरा सन् १९६९)
 २४—वर्तमानकाले आन्वीक्षिक्याः प्राचीनभारतीयराजनीतिश्च
 प्रचारणमावश्यकम् ('संस्कृति' डा० आदित्यनाथ भ्मा अभिनन्दन-
 ग्रन्थ, सन् १९६९)
 २५—आर्यत्वम् (मिथिला सन् १९७०)
 २६—श्रुतिप्रामाण्यसर्वस्वम् (श्रीसद्गुरुब्रह्मानन्दमहाराजानाम् आरा-
 वना सुवर्णमहोत्सवाङ्के शके १८९०)
 २७—लोकसंग्राहक सदाचार सन् १९७३
 २८—प्रणामाञ्जलिः (कविशेखर श्रीवदरीनाथ अभिनन्दनग्रन्थ
 सन् १९७३)
 २९—सर्वस्य द्वे सुमतिकुमती (श्रीलालबहादुरशास्त्री केन्द्रीय संस्कृत
 विद्यापीठेन प्रकाशितोऽयं लेखः)
 ३०—डा. दे. राघवन् अभिनन्दनग्रन्थ में प्रकाशनार्थं भेजा गया निबन्ध
 सं० २०३१
 ३१—सं० २०३२ वर्षीय शंकरजयन्त्युत्सव (कांचीपुरम्) में संप्रेषित
 लेख सं० २०३२)
 ३२—प्राचीन भारतीय राजनीति ('आज' भारतविशेषांक) सन् १९७५
 ३३—वेदशास्त्र हे जगत्प्रदोष आणि जगद्धितेषी आहेत (वेदशास्त्रो-
 त्तैजसभा शतसांवत्सरिक स्मरणिकाग्रन्थ में प्रधान सम्पादकीय
 लेख) सं० २०३२
 ३४—साङ्गवेदविद्यालय की वार्षिक पत्रिका में अन्य अनेकों निबन्ध
 तथा इतर पत्रिकाओं और सभाओं में प्रेषित बहुत से निबन्ध जो
 संप्रति उपलब्ध नहीं हैं ।

DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI (1890-1977)

In the death of Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the world of Indian scholarship lost a rare gem of dazzling versatility, an erudition profound in its chosen subject of linguistics but which was informed and enlivened by a comprehension of the whole world of Indian thought and culture, and all forms of their creative expression. यं ब्रह्मणमिदं वाणी वाग्वश्यैवान्ववर्तत said Bhavabhūti of himself and it applies well with Dr. Chatterji whom Tagore called 'Bhāṣācarya' and the present writer always referred to in terms of an ancient Sanskrit verse quoted by Patañjali, as 'Vāg-yoga-vid'. He was a 'Vāg-yogin', a votary of 'सर्वभाषासरस्वती' (which he often quoted) who saw the *Manifold* with wonder and admiration and also through it, the *One* with profound respect.

His acknowledged leadership in Philology, to use the old-fashioned name, was built up of solid foundations of the mastery of many languages, the scientific discipline he acquired and the love and zeal he developed for all languages, the last having no end; he wrote their scripts, got by heart passages from their writing and also collected books and other documents of those languages and cultures. His first graduation (B. A., & M. A.) (1911-13) with 1st class First was in English and in old English and Germanic. He then passed the higher examination in Vedic Sanskrit. He started his teaching work as Asst. Professor of English. His further specialisation in Linguistics was done in London and Paris and he took his Doctorate in Indo-Aryan Philology. His study then included Sanskrit, Persian, Gothic, old English and old Irish. He then held for long and with distinction the Khaira Professorship of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics at the Calcutta University. It was in that capacity that he brought out his monumental work 'The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language' (1926), (II edn. London, 1970-72). At this time, he also made a special study of the Avestan. While he led the growth of new studies of Bengali with several publications and conferences, he also launched into the wider field of Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan. A product of this phase of the expansion of his linguistic interests is his lectures at the Gujarat Vernacular Society, 'Indo-Aryan and Hindi'. His work for the cause of Hindi got him the title 'Sāhitya-Vācaspati' from the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.

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His equipment in Sanskrit and Vedic reinforced with his mastery of Indo-European had always been the sheet-anchor of his many-sided interest in and approach to languages. He was not only a student of Sanskrit literature, poetry, drama, etc. but could speak in Sanskrit, which was somewhat rugged and not in the usual style of its speakers and writers, yet gleamed with choice expressions and grammatical forms, and could also compose Sanskrit verses which he always added to his articles, addresses, letters, appreciations and tributes. At the All India Oriental Conference, he pleaded for a popular colloquial form of Sanskrit as a pan-Indian language. His appointment as Chairman of the Sanskrit Commission of the Government of India (1956-7) was a fitting recognition to his comprehension and expertise of the whole linguistic scene of the Sub-continent; for the same reasons, he was also on the official Language Commission of the Government.

He was no exclusive Indo-Aryanist; he was an enthusiast for the Pre-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic. He was well-known for his frequent declaration that 15 annas in the Rupee of Indian culture were pre or non Aryan. His vehement utterances on this led to his becoming a sort of hero in those circles but what is academically important is that they led to the steady growth in the recent decades of Dravidian Linguistics; his participation and guidance in the schools and conferences for the same organised by the Deccan College, Poona were most fruitful. Of equal significance is his monograph 'Kirāṭa-jana-kṛti', on the contributions of the Austric.

He kept himself abreast of the literary developments all over India, but it was in Bengali and with Tagore that his literary side had its full expression. All this made him the only natural choice for the presidentship of the Sahitya Akademi in 1967 in succession to Nehru, Radhakrishnan and Zakir Hussain. His association with the Akademi has been responsible, from even before his becoming its president, for the recognition by the Akademi of more languages than those in the Schedule in the Constitution.

With all his love for languages, he was no fanatic; he set his face against Hindi or Tamil or any linguistic Chauvinism. But there were some ideas on which he harped too much like his plea

for the adoption of the Roman script for Indian languages and sometimes upset a whole programme of publications of texts or his doctrinaire stand on this score.

Besides conferences in India, Dr. Chatterji went abroad also many times to participate in International Conferences, the International Congress of Orientalists several times, sessions of the International Conferences on Phonetics, on Linguistics, on Slav Languages (at Moscow), of Linguists (in Ulan Bator), and another in Montreal. He toured almost all the countries of the world either on University invitations or on cultural missions sponsored by Government of India. His travels included Africa, Egypt, all countries of Europe, U. S. S. R., Latvia and Lithuania, Mongolia, China, Japan, S. E. Asia, U. S. and South America. All this gave a further impetus to his quest of cultural contacts and inter-relations of peoples and led to the production of works or monographs 'Dvīpamaya Bhārat', 'India and China : 'Ancient Contacts', 'Iranianism', 'India and Central Asia Contacts', 'Africanism and African Personality', and the 'Balts and Aryans'.

His association with Tagore, with whom he went on the poet's Indonesian tour, gave a fillip to his literary and artistic instincts and larger cultural impulses. He developed a love for arts and crafts and collected specimens of Indian workmanship from all parts of India. When, on the Sanskrit Commission, we toured all over the country, we two always made it a point to visit the handi-crafts emporium in each city, in each state and make purchases.

Dr. Chatterji, at conferences or in leisurely company, on academic matters or in a lighter vein, was an engaging conversationist. He had many anecdotes to tell, many ideas from different countries and cultures to cite and many quotations from all sorts of languages and literature to recite. Once during our Sanskrit Commission tour, at a Railway junction where our Train had to wait, he got down on the platform, began to recite sonorously a poem in Greek and collected a large wondering crowd. He had a zest and joy in life. He had cultivated his tongue, in a more gross sense too; his gastronomic intake was as enormous as his cerebral intake. A Kāśyapa Brahman, Dr. Chatterji, who had travelled all over the world in the East and West, became a connoisseur of

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animal food of every kind and used to describe some rare delicacies which he had tasted or other varieties which he could not but eat. In India, he knew in which part of the country and at which Railway Station which specialities he should buy and eat. And he was a diabetic

His stupendous learning and pre-eminence sat lightly on him. He mixed freely and liked to meet younger scholars, share ideas with them and know from them their work. In his love for books, which he got from young and old and from all quarters, here and from abroad,—he would himself ask some authors for copies of their works if they had not sent them or if he thought they would interest him. In the interest of learning and scholarship, it is to be hoped that his magnificent collection will be preserved in the National Library, Calcutta.

In the academic field, honours came to him from several Universities and other institutions in India and in foreign countries, Presidentships of Societies and Conferences, Hony. Degrees, Medals, Certificates and so on. After Independence, in the time of B. C. Roy in West Bengal, he was elected to the Upper Legislature and became its President and in that capacity again went on several tours in India and abroad. The Republic Day honour of 'Padma Vibhushan' was conferred on him by the President of India. Government made him also a National Professor of Indian Humanities for life.

For a list of his works and other profuse writings of his in English and Bengali, the book : "Suniti Kumar Chatterji : The Scholar and the Man", 1970, Calcutta, may be seen.

Chatterji was no doubt a universalist; at the same time he was a deep believer in Indianism and the Indian Synthesis, the *Bharata Dharma*.

—V. R.

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KĀSHIRĀJ TRUST

(January-June, 1977)

Varāha-Purāṇa Work

The Vulgate edition, such as the Venkateśvara Press edition of Bombay, of the *Varāha-Purāṇa* contains 217 Adhyāyas and about 10,000 ślokas. The *Vāmana-Purāṇa* and the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* each contains about 5500 ślokas, so their critical editions were conveniently published in single volumes. On the other hand the *Varāha-Purāṇa* is almost the double in extent; so it is proposed to publish and print it in two fascicles. The first fascicle will contain about 2/3 of the text with its critical apparatus, and notes; the second, which will be published in continuation of the first one, will contain the rest of the text together with its critical apparatus, the appendices, critical notes, etc.

The constituted text of the first fascicle is ready and its critical apparatus is under preparation. The *Varāha-Purāṇa* appendices consisting of quotations from the *Dharmaśāstra*, *Nibandhas* and the concordance of the subject-matter of the *Varāha-Purāṇa* with other *Purāṇas* etc. have also been prepared and will be published in the 2nd fascicle. The description of the critical apparatus and the classification of the manuscripts collated, showing their mutual affiliation etc., will be given in the first fascicle and the rest of the Introduction containing subject-analysis and the discussion on the text and the textual problems of the *Varāha-Purāṇa* will be given in the second one. The alphabetical index of the ślokas and other necessary indexes will be added to the second fascicle. The critical notes discussing the various points of the text-constitution will also be given.

The English and the Hindi translation of the constituted text is in progress, and will be published with several appendixes as was done in the case of *Vāmana-Purāṇa* and *Kūrma-Purāṇa*.

Purāṇa Pāṭha and Pravacana

In accordance with a fixed schedule (Vide *Purāṇa*, III.2. pp. 401 f.) the following *Purāṇas* were recited in the morning and discourses on them were given in the evening :

सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जनवरी-जून १९७७)

वराहपुराणकार्यम्

वराहपुराणस्य वेंकटेश्वरसंस्करणप्रभृतिषु प्रचलितेषु संस्करणेषु २१७ अध्यायाः प्रायशः दशसहस्रसंख्याकाः श्लोकाश्च सन्ति । वामनपुराणे कूर्मपुराणे च एकैकस्मिन् प्रायशः ५५०० श्लोकाः सन्ति । अतस्तयोः पाठ-समीक्षितसंस्करणे सौकर्येण पृथक्-पृथक् एकैकग्रन्थरूपेण मुद्रिते अभूताम् । वराहपुराणस्य ग्रन्थविस्तारो प्रायेण द्विगुणो वर्तते अतः वराहपुराणस्य प्रकाशनं खण्डद्वयेन कर्तव्यं भवेदिति प्रस्तावितं वर्तते । प्रथमखण्डे पाठान्तरैः सहितः सार्धषट्सहस्रश्लोकात्मकः पाठो भविष्यति द्वितीयखण्डे च शेषः पाठः, परिशिष्टानि च भविष्यन्ति । उभावपि भागौ नैरन्तर्येण प्रकाशितौ भविष्यतः ।

धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धग्रन्थानां उद्धरणानि तथान्यपुराणैः सह विषय-साम्यात्मकानि परिशिष्टानि निर्मितानि वर्तन्ते ! तानि च वराहपुराणस्यास्य द्वितीयखण्डे प्रकाशितानि भविष्यन्ति । संवादितानां हस्तलेखानां साम्या-धारेण तेषां वर्गीकरणं च प्रथमभागे भविष्यति । विषयविश्लेषणात्मकं पाठसमीक्षात्मकं च शेषं विवरणं द्वितीयखण्डस्य भूमिकायां भविष्यति । श्लोकसूची अन्याः सूच्यश्च द्वितीयखण्डे भविष्यन्ति ।

समीक्षितपाठस्य हिन्दीभाषानुवादः आङ्ग्लभाषानुवादश्च क्रियमाणा वर्तते । इमौ पाठसमीक्षित संस्करणान्तरं परिशिष्टादिभिः सह प्रकाशितौ भविष्यतः ।

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनं च

नियतक्रमानुसारं (यथा 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकायास्तृतीयभागस्य द्वितीयाङ्के ४०१ पृष्ठादिषु सूचितम्) अधोनिदिष्टानां पुराणानां प्रातःकाले पाठः संजातः सायंकाले च तद्विषये प्रवचनं कृतम्—

1. The Kālikā-Purāṇa was recited in Sumeru Mandir of Ramnagar in the bright half of Māgha from Pratipadā to Navamī. It was recited by Pt. Kāmdeva Jhā.

2. Śiva Purāṇa was recited in Śiva temple in the Dharma Śālā at the bank of the Gaṅgā in Phalguna from Tṛtīyā to Śiva Rātri.

3. The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa was recited in Janakapur temple of Ramnagar from Caitra Śukla 1 to 9. Discourses on it were given by Pt. Ramanugraha Sharma.

Veda Pārāyaṇa

The Pārāyaṇa (recitation of the complete text) from memory of the R̥g Veda Saṁhitā, its Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads together with the pārāyaṇa of its six aṅgas was arranged from Māgha, Śukla Pratipad (20.1.1977) up to the Māgha Purnimā (4.2.1977) in the Vyāseśvara temple of Ramnagar Fort. The pārāyaṇa-kartū was Pt. Viśvanātha Vāmana Deva and the Śrotā was Pt. Śakharam Maheśvara Padhye. On the successful conclusion of the complete pārāyaṇa the usual dakṣiṇā of Rs. 1001 along with a ratnakaṅkana and Certificate signed by the Chairman H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh was given to the reciter and a dakṣiṇā of Rs. 101 was given to śrotā.

Visitors to the Purāṇa Department

1. J. Scheuer, from the Centre d'Etudes de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud, Paris, on 8.1.1977.

2. Dr. (Mrs.) L. Beregooskaya, lecturer in Russian of B.H U. and some ladies professors from Russia. The visitors expressed their satisfaction in the following way: "We were impressed by the scientific work conducted under the guidance of the respected Chancellor. We hope that in future the scientific contact between the USSR universities and Purāṇa Department of All-India Kashiraj Trust will further grow". 9.4.1977.

3. Mr. Kevala Kṛṣṇa Sethi, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Education, Government of India.

4. A group of 18 scholars from different parts of U. S. A., who had come to India under the auspices of UNICEF, were led by Dr. J White. Each one of the eminent scholars was presented

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१. रामनगरस्थे सुमेरुमन्दिरे माघशुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य नवमीं तिथिं यावत् कालिकापुराणस्य पाठः संजातः । श्रीकामदेव ज्ञा महोदयः पाठकर्ता आसीत् ।
२. रामनगरस्य गङ्गातटे अवस्थिते शिवमन्दिरे फाल्गुनकृष्ण-तृतीयामारभ्य शिवरात्रिपर्यन्तं श्रीमुखनन्दनमिश्रेण शिव-पुराणस्य पाठः कृतः ।
३. रामनगरस्थे जनकपुरमन्दिरे चैत्रनवरात्रे प्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य नवमीपर्यन्तं वाल्मीकिरामायणस्य पाठः संजातः सायंकाले तद्विषये श्रीरामानुग्रहशर्मणा प्रवचनं कृतम् ।

वेदपारायणम्

ब्राह्मणारण्यकोपनिषदः सह तथास्याः षडङ्गैः सह ऋग्वेदसंहितायाः स्मृत्याधारेण पारायणं माघशुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य (२०.१.१९७७) पूर्णिमा-पर्यन्तं (४.२.७७) कृतम् । पारायणं श्रीविश्वनाथवामनदेवमहोदयेन श्रवणं च श्रीसखाराममहेश्वरपाधेमहोदयेन कृतम् । साफल्येन पारायण-समाप्तौ न्यासस्याध्यक्षैः तत्र भवद्भिः काशिनरेशः डा० विभूतिनारायण-सिंहमहोदयैः हस्ताक्षरितं प्रमाणपत्रं एकाधिकसहस्ररूप्यकाणां दक्षिणा च पारायणकर्त्रे प्रदत्ता । श्रोत्रे १०१) रूप्यकाणां दक्षिणा प्रदत्ता ।

पुराणविभागे आगताः विद्वांसः

१. पेरिस (फ्रांस) नगरस्य श्री जे. स्कायरमहोदयः ८.१.७७ दिनांके
२. डा० श्रीमती एल. बेर्गूस्काय-हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालये रूसी भाषा-प्राध्यापिका । अन्याः काश्चन रूसदेशीयाः विदुष्यश्च । आभिः स्वसंतुष्टिरित्यमुल्लिखिता-वयं मान्यकुलाधिपतेनिर्देशने क्रियमाणेन वैज्ञानिककार्येण प्रभाविताः स्मः । वयं आशास्महे यद् भविष्ये रूसदेशीयविश्वविद्यालयैः सह सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागस्य वैज्ञानिकसंबन्धः अधिक-रूपेण वर्धियते ।' ९.४.१९७७ दिनाङ्के ।
३. श्री केवल कृष्ण सेठी महोदयः—भारतशासनस्य शिक्षामन्त्रालयस्य उपसचिवः । १९.५.७७.
४. अमेरिकादेशस्य विभिन्नभागेभ्यः आगतानां विदुषां अष्टादश सदस्याः । डाक्टर जे. ह्वाइटमहोदयः प्रमुखः आसीत् एते सज्जनाः 'यूनीसेफ' कार्यक्रमे आगता आसन् । प्रत्येकास्मै विदुषे

a copy of the latest issue of the Purāṇa Bulletin (XIX. 1, Jan., 1977).

ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS

Maharaja Banaras Vidyamandir Trust

Maṅgalotsava

The Maṅgalotsava was arranged this year from 8.3.1977 to 10.3.1977 from 7 P. M. to 9 P. M. by the *Maharaja Banaras Vidyamandir Trust* under the patronage of Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh in the Ramnagar Fort. In all the three days a programme of vocal and instrumental music was gone through, which was organized by the students and the staff of the Music College, B. H. U. The programmes were interesting.

Dhrupad Melā

In the month of March a Dhrupad Melā was organized with the financial help of this trust. The Melā is unique of its kind and is being organized for the last 3 years. This is a great help to keep alive the tradition of singing of Dhrupad music, which is the backbone of Hindustani music and due to lacking of patronage it is decaying. The Dhrupad singers here contributed to the Melā a great success. Singers of this type of music came from all over India. A great number of people, among which several foreigners, attended with interest at the three-nights long Melā. The entrance was free. The Melā was held on the bank of the Gaṅgā on Tulsi Ghat. The Trust donated Rs. five thousand for it.

Visit of Mrs. Subhu Lakṣmī

Mrs. Subhu Lakṣmī, the famous South Indian musician, came to Benares with her husband Śrī T. Sadā Shivam and party, in connection with the opening ceremony of Kāshī Suprabhātam. She also visited the Ramnagar Fort and met His Highness, Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh. She also gave a programme in the Fort itself and was entertained with her party at dinner.

Visit of Śaṅkarācārya

The Śaṅkarācārya of Śringeri came to Ramnagar on 2.6.1977 at 9 A. M. At his arrival the Śaṅkarācārya bathed in the Gaṅgā and performed the pūjā of *Candramaulīśvara*. He and his disciples took

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पुराणम् पत्रिकाया नवीनतमाङ्कस्य (१९.१) एका प्रतिः
समर्पिता ।

सहयोगिन्यासानां कार्यविवरणम्

महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिर न्यासः

मङ्गलोत्सवः

अस्मिन् वर्षे द.३.७७ दिनाङ्कमारभ्य १०.३.७७ दिनाङ्कं यावत् सायंकाले ७ वादनतः ९ वादनं यावत् महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिर न्यासेन तत्रभवतां काशिनरेश डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयानां संरक्षणे मङ्गलोत्सवः आयोजितः आसीत् । त्रिष्वपि दिनेषु वाद्यसंगीतस्य कण्ठ-संगीतस्य च कार्यक्रम आसीत् यस्मिन् काशिहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य संगीत महाविद्यालयस्य छात्राः अध्यापकाश्च सम्मिलिता वभूवुः । आयोजनमतीव रोचकमासीत् ।

ध्रुपद मेला

१९७७ वर्षस्य मार्चमासे काश्याम् अस्य न्यासस्य आर्थिकसाहाय्येन ध्रुपदमेलाया आयोजनं जातम् । एषा मेला अपूर्वा वर्तते विगतत्रिभ्यः वर्षेभ्यः प्रतिवर्षम् आयोजिता च भवति । अस्याः आयोजनेन ध्रुपदगायनस्य संरक्षणे महती सहायता भवति । ध्रुपदगायनं तु भारतीयसंगीतस्य मेरुदण्डं वर्तते साहाय्याभावेन च ह्रासमाणं वर्तते । ध्रुपदगायनस्य गायका भारतस्य विविधभागेषु वर्तन्ते । अस्यां मेलायां द्रव्यः श्रोतारः येषु केचन वैदेशिका अपि आसन् तिसृष्वपि रात्रिषु उपस्थिता आसन् । मेलायामुपस्थितिः निःशुल्का आसीत् । मेलाया आयोजनं वाराणस्यां गङ्गातटे तुलसीघट्टे आसीत् । महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिर न्यासेन एतदुद्दिश्य पञ्चसहस्ररूप्यकाणां सहायता प्रदत्ता ।

श्रीमत्याः शुभलक्ष्म्या आगमनम्

दक्षिणभारतस्य प्रसिद्धा संगीतज्ञा श्रीमती शुभलक्ष्मीमहोदया स्वपतिना श्रीसदाशिवम् महोदयेन सह 'काशीसुप्रभातम्' कार्यक्रमस्य उद्घाटनावसरे वाराणसीमागता । सा रामनगरदुर्गे काशिनरेश डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयानामपि साक्षात्कारं कृतवती । सा दुर्गे अपि गायनं प्रदर्शनं कृतवती । दुर्गे सा भोजनादिभिः सत्कृता आसीत् ।

शृङ्गेरीपीठाधिष्ठित श्रीजगद्गुरुशंकराचार्याणामागमनम्

शृङ्गेरीपीठाधीशाः जगद्गुरवः शङ्कराचार्यपादाः २.६.७७ दिनाङ्के प्रातः ९ वादनकाले रामनगरदुर्गं आगताः । जगद्गुरवः गङ्गास्नानान्तरं

bhikṣā in the Fort. The pāda-pūjā with Sahaśranāma was performed by the Mahārāja Kumāra Ananta Narain Singh and a sum of Rs. 1001 was given to the eminent guest. In the afternoon, His Holiness took the examinations of the students of Nyāyaśāstra of the Vidyāmandir Pāṭhaśālā. The Mahārājakumāra Ananta Narain Singh also appeared in the examination. His Holiness was satisfied with the training of the students. The Śaṅkarācārya gave prasāda to the visitors and left for Robertsganj at 4. 30 P. M.

Museum

The Museum run by the Maharaja Banaras Vidyamandir Trust and located in the Ramnagar Fort continues to be visited by a large number of visitors and tourists, both Indians and foreign. They are greatly impressed by the collections of the Museum specially with its arms-section which is one of the main attractions. Among the important visitors of the Museum mention may be made of Amintore Fanfani, Chairman of Senate and Vice-President of Italy, with his wife and Śrī Indra Mohan Sahai, Home Secretary, Government of U. P., Lucknow.

Maharaja Udit Narain Singh Manasa Prachara Nidhi

The navāhna pārāyaṇa of the Rāma-carita of Tulsidas was organized under the auspices of this Trust in the Śrī Rāma temple at Chakia (Distt. Vārāṇasī), from 20 April to 28 April (Vaiśākha, Śukla 1-9). For all the nine days the Kathā of the Rāma-carita Mānasa was also narrated in the Kālī temple of Chakia. Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh attended the Kathā daily during these nine days. Discourses on the Rāma-carita Mānasa were also given by Pt. Keshari Kishore Sharana and Pt. Jagadish Vyasa.

Essay Competition

Under the auspices of this Trust an Essay Competition was held for Graduate and Post-Graduate students. The Subject for the Essay was हनुमच्छरित. The essays were judged by Pt. Hazāri Prasād Dvivedi, Pt. Viśvanāth Śāstrī Dātār and Shri Lakṣmī Śaṅkar Vyāsa. Śrī Rakesh Kumar Dikṣit, student of Sandhyā Kālīna Mahāvidhyālaya, Kamacchā, B. H. U., was the winner of the First prize of Rs. 100. The prizes were distributed by Pt. Hazāri Prasād Dvivedi.

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भगवतः चन्द्रमौलीश्वरस्य पूजनं कृतवन्तः । महाराजकुमारेण श्रीअनन्त-
नारायणसिंहमहोदयेन जगद्गुरुणां पादपूजा विहिता । एकाधिकसहस्र-
रूप्यकाणां दक्षिणा च प्रदत्ता । जगद्गुरवः तच्छिष्याः इतरे च तदनुवर्तिनः
दुर्गे भिक्षाग्रहणं कृतवन्तः । मध्याह्नोत्तरकाले श्रीशाङ्कराचार्या दुर्गस्य विद्या-
मन्दिरपाठशालायां तत्रत्यान् छात्रान् न्यायशास्त्रविषये परीक्षितवन्तः ।
महाराजकुमारः श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंहः अपि परीक्षायां सम्मिलितः
आसीत् । विद्यार्थिनां प्रशिक्षणेन जगद्गुरवः संतुष्टा आसन् । श्रीशंकराचार्याः
अन्येभ्यः श्रद्धालुजनेभ्यः प्रसादं प्रदत्तवन्तः । सायंकाले ४.३० वादनसमये
च ते 'रावर्टसगंज' इति स्थानाय प्रस्थानं कृतवन्तः ।

संग्रहालयः

महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिर न्यासेन संचालितं रामनगरदुर्गे
अवस्थितं संग्रहालयं द्रष्टुं बहुसंख्यका भारतीया वैदेशिकाश्च पर्यटका
आगच्छन्ति । ते संग्रहालये संगृहीतपदार्थान् विशेषतः शस्त्रविभागं दृष्ट्वा
अतीवप्रभाविता भवन्ति । शस्त्रविभागस्तु अतीवाकर्षको वर्तते । संग्रहालये
दर्शनार्थमागतेषु विशिष्टजनेषु इटलीदेशस्य उपराष्ट्रपति 'सीनेट' इत्यस्य
च उपाध्यक्षः श्रीअमीनतारे फानफानी महोदयः तथा उत्तरप्रदेशशासनस्य
गृहसचिवः श्रीइन्द्रमोहनसहायमहोदयः उल्लेखनीयौ स्तः ।

महाराज उदित नारायणसिंह मानस प्रचार निधिः

अस्य न्यासस्य निर्देशने चकिया नगरस्य राममन्दिरे वैशाख शुक्ल
प्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य नवमीतिथि पर्यन्तं (२० अप्रैल-२८ अप्रैल) तुलसीदास-
कृतस्य रामचरितमानसस्य पारायणं संजातम् । नवसु दिवसेषु सायंकाले
तत्रस्थे कालीमन्दिरे रामचरितमानसस्य कथा आयोजिता आसीत् । नवसु
दिवसेषु तत्र भवन्तः काशिनरेशाः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयाः
कथायाम् उपस्थिता आसन् । कथा तु श्रीकेशरीकिशोरशरणमहोदयेन तथा
श्रीजगदीश व्यासेन कथिता आसीत् ।

निबन्धप्रतियोगिता

अस्य न्यासस्य संरक्षणे स्नातकछात्राणां कृते स्नातकोत्तरछात्राणां
च कृते निबन्धप्रतियोगिताया आयोजनं कृतमासीत् । निबन्धस्य विषयः—
'हनुमच्चरितम्' आसीत् । निबन्धानां परीक्षणं डा० हजारीप्रसादद्विवेदि-
महोदयेन, पण्डितविश्वनाथशास्त्रिदातारमहोदयेन तथा श्रीलक्ष्मीशंकरव्यास-
महोदयेन कृतम् । काशिकाहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य सांध्यमहाविद्यालयस्य
छात्रेण श्रीराकेशकुमारदीक्षितेन १०१ रूप्यकाणां प्रथमः पुरस्कारः प्राप्तः ।
पुरस्कार वितरणं डा० हजारीप्रसादद्विवेदिमहोदयेन कृतम् ।

Maharaja Prabhu Narain Singh Physical Cultural Trust

A U. P. State Chess Tournament was held on 7.4.1977 under the auspices of this Trust. About 40 competitors from several U. P. districts took part in it. The prizes were distributed by H. H. Dr. Vibhūti Narain Singh. Śrī Kālikāprasād, from Lucknow, got the first prize.

MAHARAJA KASHIRAJ DHARMAKARYA NIDHI**1. Maharani Ramaratna Kunwari Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā**

This Pāṭhaśālā, established in 1923, imparts Sanskrit education in the traditional way. It prepares students for the Sanskrit examinations up to the Uttara Madhyamā of the Sanskrit University, Vārāṇasī. The examination result of the Pāṭhaśālā has always been good.

2. Maharaja Balwant Singh Degree College, Gangapur

This College is affiliated to the Gorakhpur University and imparts education in Arts subject. The result of examinations has not been declared till now.

3. Raja Manasa Ram Law College, Raja Talab

The College was started in November 1974 as a part of the Mahārāja Balwant Singh College in the form of its Law Department. It is imparting education in Law with a view to prepare lawyers who can legally serve the needy with a sense of service.

'Hindutva' Magazine

The Dharma Karya Nidhi also donates Rs. 4,000 yearly towards the publication of this monthly magazine, which is published by the Vishva Hindu Dharma Sammelan of which Mahārāja Dr. Vibhūti Narain Singh is the President.

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महाराज प्रभुनारायणसिंह फिजिकल कल्चरलट्रस्ट

अस्य न्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने ७ अप्रैल १९७७ ई० दिनांके 'शतरंज' इति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धायाः क्रीडाप्रतियोगिता आयोजिता आसीत् । अस्यां प्रतियोगितायां उत्तरप्रदेशस्य विविधजनपदेभ्यः प्रायशः चत्वारिंशत् प्रतियोगिनः सम्मिलिता आसन् । तत्र भवद्भिः महाराजैः काशिनरेशैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयैः पुरस्कारवितरणं कृतम् । लखनऊनगरवास्तव्यः श्रीकालिकाप्रसादः प्रथमपुरस्कारं प्राप्तवान् ।

महाराज काशिराज धर्मकार्यनिधिः

१. महारानी रामरत्न कुँवरि संस्कृत पाठशाला

१९२३ खोष्टवर्षे स्थापितेषां पाठशाला परंपराप्राप्तसंस्कृतपद्धत्या शिक्षाप्रदानं करोति । संपूर्णनिन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य उत्तरमध्यमा-कक्षापर्यन्तं पाठशालायामध्यापनं भवति । पाठशालायाः परीक्षाफलं सदैव उत्तमं भवति ।

२. महाराज बलवन्तसिंह महाविद्यालय, गङ्गापुर

एष महाविद्यालयः गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालयेन संबद्धोऽस्ति । स्नातकक्षायाः कलाविषये अत्र अध्यापनं भवति । अस्य वर्षस्य परीक्षाफलम् अध्याधि नोपलब्धं वर्तते ।

३. महाराज मनसाराम विधिमहाविद्यालय, राजातालाव

अस्य महाविद्यालय स्थापना विधिशिक्षाप्रदानार्थं नवम्बर १९७४ वर्षे महाराज बलवन्तसिंह महाविद्यालयस्य अङ्गरूपेण जाता । अस्य महाविद्यालयस्य स्थापना अनया आशया कृता यद् प्रशिक्षिता विधिवेत्तारः सेवाभावनया प्राथिजनानां विधिसंवन्धिसेवां करिष्यन्ति ।

'हिन्दुत्व' पत्रिका

न्यासोऽयं विश्वहिन्दुधर्मसम्मेलनेन प्रकाशितायै 'हिन्दुत्व' पत्रिकायै प्रकाशनार्थं ४०००) रुप्यकाणां वार्षिकीं सहायतां ददाति । विश्वहिन्दुधर्म-सम्मेलनस्य तत्रभवन्तः काशिनरेशा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह महोदया अध्यक्षाः सन्ति ।

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ALL INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

Critical Editions and Translations

1. Vāmana Purāṇa—Edited by Sri A. S. Gupta. Rs. 125
2. Kūrma Purāṇa—Edited by Sri A. S. Gupta. Rs. 125
3. Rāmacarita-mānasa—Edited by Acharya Vishva Nath Prasad Misra. Rs. 6.50
4. Vāmana Purāṇa—Constituted Text with English Translation and Appendices. Rs. 80
5. Vāmana Purāṇa—Constituted Text with Hindi Translation and Appendices. Rs. 50
6. Kūrma Purāṇa—Constituted Text with English Translation and Appendices. Rs. 80
7. Kūrma Purāṇa—Constituted Text with Hindi Translation and Appendices. Rs. 50
8. Devimahātmya—Text with English Translation and annotations. By Dr. V. S. Agrawala. Rs. 20
9. Svargakhaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa—edited by Dr. Asoke Chatterjee. Rs. 40

Studies

1. Matsya Purāṇa—A Study. By Dr. V. S. Agrawala. Rs. 40
2. Garuḍa Purāṇa—A Study. By Dr. N. Gangadharan. Rs. 40
3. Nārada Purāṇa—A Study. By Dr. K. Damodaran Nambiar. (In the Press)
4. Niti-Section of Purāṇārthasaṅgraha. By Dr. V. Raghavan. Rs. 2
5. Vyāsa-Prasasti [व्यासप्रशस्तिः]—Compiled and edited By Dr. V. Raghavan. Re. 1
6. Greater Rāmāyaṇa. By Dr. V. Raghavan. Rs. 30
7. Viṣṇupurāṇa Viṣayanukramaṇi [विष्णुपुराण-विषयानुक्रमणी] By Pt. Mādhvacharya Adya. Rs. 15
8. Bṛhaspati-Saṁhitā of the Garuḍa Purāṇa. By Dr. L. Sternbach. Rs. 10
9. Manavadharmaśāstra (I-III) and Bhaviṣya Purāṇa. By Dr. L. Sternbach. Rs. 20

Journal

Purāṇa—Half Yearly Research Journal, dealing with the various aspects of the Purāṇas.
Annual Subscription Inland Rs. 30, Foreign £ 3.00

Several *Purāṇas* give different methods of observing *Ekādaśī*. The *Vāyu* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* introduce the systems of *Ekabhakta*, *Nakta*, *Ayācita* and other alternatives. The *Matsya* even provides that one's representatives can observe this if one is unable to perform it.¹ The *Garuḍa* prohibits fast on *Ekādaśī* mixed with *Daśamī*. The *Brahmavaivarta* describes four kind of *vedhas* of *Ekādaśī* with *Daśamī*, viz., *Aruṇodayavedha*, *Ativedha*, *Mahāvedha* and *Toga*.²

The *Nārada* attaches the greatest importance to *Ekādaśī* among all the *Vratas*. In the first part, chapter 23 gives a description of this *Vrata*, and also includes the story of *Bhadraśīla* enumerating the merits which are acquired by its performance. The special rules regarding the observance of this *Vrata* are given elsewhere. The importance and the merits of the performance of this *Vrata* are dealt with in detail with the illustration of the story of *Rukmāṅgada*.

The *Nāradiya* mentions that there is no *Vrata* as auspicious as *Ekādaśī*.³ By observing fast on *Ekādaśī*, one is freed from all sins, secures the abode of *Viṣṇu*, escapes from re-birth, and enables his paternal and maternal ancestors and also those from his wife's side to reach *Vaikunṭha*.⁴ Even the *Tīrthas Gaṅgā*, *Gayā*, etc., do not yield as much merit as the observance of *Ekādaśī Vrata*.⁵

Adhikāra to Ekādaśī Vrata

All the four *Vaṇas* (castes) including women are entitled to get final emancipation by the observance of *Ekādaśī Vrata*.⁶ From the story of *Rukmāṅgada* it becomes clear that all the subjects of his country were entitled to observe *Ekādaśī*, but the children under the age of eight and old people above 85 were exempted from its observance.⁷ The devotees of *Śiva*, *Sūrya*, *Brahmā*, *Parvatī*, etc., the *Agnihotrin*s, boys and girls, young and old, pregnant women and sickly and disabled persons observed *Ekādaśī* with a fast during

1. Vā, q. by KN, p. 261; Mār, q. by Hemādri on Kāla, p. 176; M, q. by VKK, p. 69; HD, V. 1. pp. 99-100.
2. G, I. 125. 2; q. by KR, p. 635; Brv, q. by Hemādri on Kāla, pp. 255-259; HD, V. 1. p. 114.
3. N, I. 23. 30-31.
4. N, I. 23. 70, 23; II. 4. 10-19.
5. N, II. 1. 16-18.
6. N, I. 23. 1-2.
7. N, II. 3.8.

the reign of *Rukmāṅgada*.¹ The *Nārada* insists that one should not take food on *Ekādaśī* of both fortnights, and if any one acts otherwise, he reaches hell.²

The following is a description of the method of observing *Ekādaśī Vrata* according to the *Nārada*.

On the morning of *Daśamī* day, after performing the daily duties, the performer should worship *Viṣṇu* bathing the image with *Pañcāmṛta*. He should control his senses and should sleep in front of *Viṣṇu*. The next morning, i. e., on *Ekādaśī*, he should bathe the *Viṣṇu* image with *Pañcāmṛta* and worship it with *upacāras*. He should take no food and should keep awake engaged in chanting hymns and reciting the *Purāṇas*. On *Dvādaśī* day, he should bathe the image with milk and worship *Viṣṇu*. Then he should complete his *Vrata* by pleasing the *Brāhmaṇas* with food and gift, and after performing the five daily sacrifices, should take his meal in company of his people. While engaged in this *Vrata*, the performer should do only good deeds and should never look at *Caṇḍalas*, outcastes, etc., should not speak with atheists and the like, and should not honour a musician, doctor, heretic, poet, etc., even by word of mouth.³ On *Ekādaśī* day, taking bath in the *Dhatri* (*Phyllanthus emblica*) water is considered auspicious.⁴

Regarding the observance of fast, the *Nārada* quotes some special rules. According to *Gautama*, it is said that the pregnant women, sickly persons, those who are engaged in sacrifice, chaste women, warriors, householders, etc., should not fast in any circumstances.⁵ *Gautama* says that the observance of fast by kings is not suggested anywhere.⁶ He adds that there is no *Śāstra* which prohibits one from taking meal on *Ekādaśī*. He allows partaking of food for those who perform *Agnikārya* at both the twilights.⁷

At the same time, the *Purāṇas* declare that one should not take meal on *Ekādaśīs* of both halves during the *Harivāsara*.⁸ The

1. N, II. 9. 13-17.
2. N, I. 23.4.
3. N, I. 23. 12-28.
4. N, II. 1. 8-10.
5. N, II. 23. 75-77.
6. N, II. 24. 42.
7. N, II. 25. 2-3.
8. N, II. 24. 3, 4, 23, 24.

Vaiṣṇavācāralakṣaṇa insists on fast for all on *Ekādaśī* day, and it mentions that one who violates this rule will sink down. Further, it adds that even the quadrupeds should not be fed with rice on *Ekādaśī* day.¹ The *Nārada* declares that all the sins, including that of Brāhmaṇa-murder, reside in food on the day of *Hari*. He suggests *Ekabhakta* (day food only) on *Daśamī* and *Dvādaśī* days and complete fast on *Ekādaśī* day.² But, it is stated elsewhere that in the opinion of great sages, roots, fruits, milk and water may be taken, but not cooked food.³

The *Nārada* divides *Ekādaśī* into two as *sampūrṇā* (full) and *viddhā* (broken). When a *tithi* has an extent of 60 *ghaṭikās* commencing from sunrise, it is called *sampūrṇā*.⁴ The *Nārada* condemns fast on *Ekādaśī* mixed with *Daśamī*, and adds that *Daśamī* joined to *Ekādaśī* destroys *Punya* (spiritual merit) acquired in the past three lives.⁵ Regarding *vedha* and acceptance of *śuddha* (pure) *Ekādaśī*, this *Purāṇa* gives many rules which are given below :

Paraviddha-tithis are auspicious for *Vrata* and observing fast, but *Pūrvaviddhas* should not be accepted.⁶ All the people should avoid *Ekādaśī* joined with *Daśamī*. Even if one *kalā* of *Ekādaśī* exists on *Dvādaśī* day, if the *Dvādaśī* joins with *Trayodaśī* the next day, the second day's *Dvādaśī* associated with *Trayodaśī* is considered as the most auspicious for *Vrata*. If *Ekādaśī* occurs for 24 hours and joins with *Dvādaśī* the next day, and *Trayodaśī* begins at the end of the night on that day, then the first day should be accepted by householders for fast, and the second day by *Yatis* (saints). If there is not even one *kalā* of *Dvādaśī* for *Pāraṇā* (completion of the rite), then the *Daśamī-viddhā Ekādaśī* should be taken. If *Ekādaśī* occurs on two days, the first day should be taken by the householders and the second day by the saints. If *viddhā Ekādaśī* exists for 24 hours and if it joins with *Dvādaśī* at the end of the civil day, then the *Dvādaśī* day should be taken for fast. If the three *tithis*, viz., *Ekādaśī*, *Dvādaśī* and *Trayodaśī* occur on a day, the performance of *Pāraṇā* on *Trayodaśī* day yields the merit of *Dvādaśā-Dvādaśī*, i.e., of 12 *Dvādaśīs*.

1. N, II. 25. 11-16.
2. N, I. 23. 7-8.
3. N, II. 24. 7-8.
4. N, II. 2. 14-15.
5. N, I. 29. 30-40.
6. N, I. 29. 3-4.

If only one *kalā* of *Ekādaśī* exists on *Dvādaśī* day, and whether or not *Dvādaśī* exists on *Trayodaśī* day the householders may fast on *viddhā Ekādaśī* and the saints and widows on the second day, i. e. *Dvādaśī* day. If there is *śuddhā Ekādaśī* for 2½ hours and it does not fall on *Dvādaśī* day and *Dvādaśī* joins with *Trayodaśī*, then the householders should accept the *Ekādaśī* day for fast and the saints *Dvādaśī* day. But in this case, according to some people, *Dvādaśī* day is accepted by all. If *Ekādaśī* joins with *Daśamī* and does not occur on the next day but there is *Dvādaśī* mixed with *Trayodaśī*, then the *śuddhā Dvādaśī* day should be accepted by all for observing fast. But contrary to this rule, some people accept in this case the *viddhā Ekādaśī* for *Vrata*, which is not considered as a correct procedure.¹

The *Vaiṣṇavas* observe *Ekādaśī Vrata* in a different way. They observe it on the two halves of a month utilising three days for it. If *Ekādaśī* and *Dvādaśī* occur on different days, they perform *Vrata* by complete fast. During unavoidable circumstances, they take water, vegetables, fruits and milk or *Viṣṇu-naivedya* equivalent to one fourth of their usual meals. The *Smārtas* reject *viddhā Ekādaśī* during sunrise and saints that of midnight. All avoid *Ekādaśī* mixed with *Daśamī*.²

The names of *Ekādaśīs* for the 12 months mentioned in the *Nārada* are³:

<i>Months</i>	<i>Halves</i>	<i>Names</i>
Caitra	Bright	Kāmadā
Caitra	Dark	Pāpamocanī
Vaiśākha	Bright	Mohinī
Vaiśākha	Dark	Varūthinī
Jyeṣṭha	Bright	Nirjalā
Jyeṣṭha	Dark	Aparā
Āṣāḍha	Bright	Śayanī
Āṣāḍha	Dark	Yoginī
Śrāvaṇa	Bright	Putradā
Śrāvaṇa	Dark	Kāmikā
Bhādrapada	Bright	Padmā

1. N, I. 29.41-54.

2. N, II. 37. 4-9.

3. N, I. 120.

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Bhādrapada	Dark	Ajā
Āśvina	Bright	Pāpānkuṣā
Āśvina	Dark	Indirā
Kārtika	Bright	Bodhinī
Kārtika	Dark	Ramā
Mārgaśīrṣa	Bright	Mokṣadā
Mārgaśīrṣa	Dark	Utpannā
Pauṣa	Bright	Putradā
Pauṣa	Dark	Saphalā
Māgha	Bright	Jayā
Māgha	Dark	Ṣattilā
Phālguna	Bright	Āmalakī
Phālguna	Dark	Vijayā

APPENDIX II FLORA AND FAUNA

1. Flora

The healing power of plants and their utility in curing human diseases were known to people during the Vedic age. Soma was considered in the Ṛgvedic period as the king of the plant world¹. The Upaniṣads and the Buddhist and Jaina canonical works contain references to plant life². During the period of Pāṇini there was systematic cultivation of forests and groves of trees and plants³. A corresponding process of development is noticeable in the *Arthaśāstra* and in the medical treatises of Caraka and Suśruta. The science called *Vṛkṣāyurveda* or '*Bheśajavidyā*' is described in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, *Agni Purāṇa*, etc.⁴

Classification of Plants

The Indian system of classification of plants is based on the Botanical medicinal and dietary properties.⁵ The rudiments of the classification of plants can be traced to as far back as the *R̥gveda* and *Atharvaveda*⁶. Manu gives an elaborate classification of plants as: (1) Oṣadhis, (2) Vanaspatis, (3) Vṛkṣas, (4) Gucchas, (5) Gulma, (6) Pratānab and (7) Vallis. Caraka classifies them as (1) Vanaspatis, (2) Vānaspatyas, (3) Oṣadhis and (4) Vīrudhs. Suśruta's classification is identical with that of Caraka⁷.

The *Nārada Purāṇa* gives the following classification.
(1) Vṛkṣas, (2) Gulmas, (3) Latās, (4) Vallis, (5) Tṛṇas.⁸

Nārada's classification is similar to that of Manu. But Vanaspatis and Vṛkṣas are put in the same category, Pratānas are taken as Latās, and Oṣadhis are not taken separately.

The plants are referred to in connection with worship and ritual performances. Some of the plants are used as medicines,

1. CHVP. P, 280; VM, P.144.
2. Vsp, p. 13.
3. IP, p. 210.
4. Chi, p. 421.
5. Vsp, pp. 47, 79.
6. RV, X. 97; AV, XIII. 7.4.
7. Vsp, pp. 79-81; PSAH, p. 169.
8. N, I. 32.1.

especially in connection with witchcraft practices, and some others are mentioned as found in the hermitage of Bhṛgu and Vāmadeva. It is very important to note that Soma, the king of plants, is not referred to anywhere in the *Nārada Purāṇa*.

Nārada conforms to the view that plants have life, and that the Pañca Bhūtas (five elements) exist within the plant organism. It adds, moreover, that plants are responsive to heat, wind and sound by virtue of the five elements embodied in them. These five elements give the plant the senses of touch, hearing, seeing, smelling and tasting. This practically raises the plants to a status equal to that of animal or human life. This is illustrated by the following words of Nārada.

By wind, fire and the rumbling of the thunder, the plants shed their fruits and flowers, because they hear by means of their ears. Similarly, the sense of sight is evident from the phenomenon of the Vallis clinging to the trees nearby. The sense of smell of the plants becomes clear from the fact that they are better nourished and flower well by perfume and incense, whereas the sense of taste of the plants is proved by the better output when grown in soil (with manure¹).

From these feelings of happiness and sorrow and from their power of sprouting up even after being cut, it has to be admitted that plants are living beings and not lifeless.

The following is an alphabetical list of plants referred to in the *Nārada Purāṇa*:

1. Agarū

Aloexylon agallochum, a kind of Candana.² It is referred to in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* by the term Aguru. Kauṭilya, Caraka, Suśruta and Varāhamihira mention it.³ A forest of Aguru is said to be situated in the Kuru land.⁴ Nārada mentions it as being used in the preparation of a tilaka (mark on the forehead) in connection with Tāntrika practices.⁵

1. N, I. 42. 62-74.

2. WD; Index; AD.

3. Vā, 75.32; N. I. 86.38; Arth, 2.11. p. 78; VSP, pp. 96, 100, 121, 112; Brs. 77. 23; CHVP, pp. 108, 231.

4. CHVP, p. 108.

5. N, I. 84. 46 ff.

2. Agastya

Sesbana grandiflora (?). Nārada mentions a plant, Agastya by name, the leaves of which (*Agastyasya patraṁ*) are to be offered to Sarveśvara (Gaṇeśa).¹ Here Nārada seems to refer to the plant Agasti which is identified by V. S. Apte as *Sesbana grandiflora*.²

3. Akṣa

Terminalia belerica. This may be identified with *Vibhītaka*. According to Nārada, its seeds are used for homa.³ Cf. (*Vibhītaka*), No. 168.

4. Alābu

Lagenaria vulgaris or the bottle gourd.⁴ Vessels made of bottle gourd are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*.⁵ The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and the *Arthaśāstra* mention this plant.⁶ According to Nārada, the pots made of this plant are given as gift to Yatis.⁷

5. Āmalaka

Phyllanthus emblica.⁸ It is referred to in the *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* and in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. It is termed also as *Amalā*.⁹ Varāhamihira mentions this plant.¹⁰ Nārada states that the leaves of this plant can be used for worship even three days after they are collected. Āmalakī is worshipped on Dvādaśī day.¹¹

6. Ambuja

Nelumbium speciosum or lotus.¹² It is also known as Ambhoja, Kamala, Padma, Abja, Paṅkaja, Saroja, Puṣkara, etc.¹³ Puṣkara is the name of the blue lotus flower in the *R̥gveda* and later literature. According to the *Atharvaveda*, it is of sweet perfume.¹⁴ Pāṇini

1. N, I. 113. 34.
2. AD.
3. AD; N, I. 90. 212.
4. WD; AD.
5. AV, VIII. 10. 29-30; XX. 132.1-2; V. Ind, I. p. 38.
6. Pat, XXIC. p. 117; ITP, p. 95; Arth, 14.2. p. 415.
7. N, I. 113.6.
8. AD.
9. Jai. Up. Br, I. 36.6; CU, VII. 3.1; V. Ind, I. pp. 59, 30.
10. Brs, 57.6.
11. N, I. 67.67; 120. 80.
12. WD; Index; AD.
13. N, I. 80.51; 11.75; 8. 21; 33.21; 90.35; 33.137; 14.71.
14. V. Ind, II. p. 9.

and Varāhamihira refer to lotus.¹ According to Nārada, it has different colours and is used in homa and worship. Brāhmā is said to have been born from a lotus, and it is adorned by goddess Sāvitrī.²

7. Āmra

Mangifera indica or the mango.³ Pāṇini, Kauṭilya, Caraka, Suśruta and Varāhamihira mention it.⁴ It is known as Cūta also. The use of its stick in cleaning the teeth and of its leaves and fruits in worship and homa is referred to by Nārada.⁵

8. Amṛta

Emblc myrobalan of Tinospora Cardifolia. It is used in homa.⁶

9. Aṅkolaka

Alangium decapetalum. It is also termed as Aṅkola, Aṅkoṭa, Ankoṭha or Ankolla.⁷ The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* refers to it.⁸ According to Nārada, it is used in homa.⁹

10. Apāmārga

Achyranthes aspera. It was used in witchcraft practices and for medicinal purposes during the Vedic period.¹⁰ Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira refer to it.¹¹ According to Nārada, it is used in cleaning the teeth, for homa and in worship.¹²

11. Āragvadha

Cassia fistula. It is used largely in medicinal recipes, according to Apte.¹³ Nārada mentions its use in homa.¹⁴

1. Pāṇ. V. 2.135; IP, p. 215; Brs, 12.10.
2. N, I. 70.105; 76.31; 90.89, etc., 42.18; 27.57.
3. WD; Index; AD.
4. Pāṇ, VIII. 4.5; IP, p. 211; Arth, 2.15. p. 94; Ind. Verb; Vsp, pp. 92, 94, 102, 111, 116; CHVP, p. 231; Brs, 29.11.
5. N, I. 74. 170; 27.24; 79. 151; 65.31; 67.65; 74.18.
6. Index; WD; N, 1.80. 261; 87.93.
7. Index; WD; AD; MD.
8. Brs, 54.50.
9. N. I 90.106.
10. WD; Index; V. Ind, I. p. 25.
11. Arth, 2.25. p. 121; Brs, 54. 115.
12. N, I. 22.10; 51. 82-84; 67.63.
13. WD; Vsp, pp. 92, 99, 235; AD.
14. N, I. 90. 100; 91.39.

12. Arjuna

Pentaptera arjuna or *Lagerstroemia hypoleuca*. It is referred to by G. P. Majumdar as *Terminalia arjuna*, a tree with useful rind.¹ It is also referred to in the *Arthaśāstra* and *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*.² It is said to have originated from the star Svāti. Its wood is used in making a Gṛha Śaṅku (house pillar)³.

13. Arka

Calotropis gigantea or the sun plant. Its leaves are used for sacrificial ceremonies.⁴ Arka is referred to in the *Atharvaveda*, *Arthaśāstra* and *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*.⁵ According to Nārada, it is a milky tree, the flower of which is used in Siva worship, but is taboo in the worship of Viṣṇu and Śakti. The stick of it is used for cleansing the teeth and in homa, and its milk in witchcraft practices. The origin of this tree is said to be from Viṣṇu's star, i. e., Śravaṇa.⁶

14. Ariṣṭa

Sapindus emarginatus. It is referred to in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*.⁷ The leaves and seeds of this plant, originated from the star Hasta, are used in homa.⁸

15. Āruṣkara

Semecarpus anacardium. Its fruit is called Bhallātaka, which is the marking nut plant according to Watt and V. S. Apte.⁹ Its seeds are used in homa.¹⁰

16. Aśoka

Saraca aborescens or *Jonesia asoca* is a tree which puts forth red flowers.¹¹ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions a forest of nīlāśoka trees, situated in the region between the Nāga and the Kapiñjala mountains. The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* also refers to this plant.¹² According to Nārada, this tree is found in the Kailāsa mountain and in

1. Index; WD; Vsp, pp. 67, 68, etc.; 235; AD.
2. Arth, 2. 17. p. 99; Brs, 54. 105.
3. N, I. 56. 207, 574-575.
4. Index; WD; AD; MD.
5. AV, X. 85. 13; Arth, 24. 2. p. 415; Brs, 85. 3.
6. N, I. 3. 68; 13. 62; 67. 60, 62; 27. 24; 51. 82; 73. 45; 56. 209.
7. Index; WD; Brs, 54. 105.
8. N, I. 56. 207; 90. 209.
9. WD; Index; AD.
10. N, I. 90. 105.
11. WD; AD; MD.
12. Vā, 38. 66-70; CHVP, p. 108; Brs, 54. 119.

the hermitage of Vāmadeva. It is said that this tree is worshipped. Its leaves are eaten in connection with Aśoka vrata. Its flowers are used in homa.¹

17 Aśvāri

Nerium odorum, the fragrant oleander, known also by the terms Aśvaripu, Hayāri, etc. According to Nārada, its flowers are used in homa.²

18 Asvattha

Ficus religiosa, the holy fig tree³. The *Rgveda* mentions the vessels made of the wood of the Aśvattha. Its berries are described as sweet. It is also known by the name Pippala during the later period⁴. Pāṇini, Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira refer to this tree. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* recommends the sticks of Aśvattha for Śrāddha⁵. It is the most auspicious among trees. It is a milky tree. According to Nārada, it is found in the hermitage of Bhṛgu. Its leaves are used in worship and its sticks in homa⁶.

19. Atasī

Linum usitatissimum or the Linseed. It is referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira⁷. Caraka and Suśruta include it in the oil group. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions a forest of Atasī in the region between the Nāga and the Kapiñjala mountains.⁸ The oil extracted from this plant is used for lighting purposes⁹.

20. Babari

'Ziziphus jujuba' is termed as 'Badara' in the Yajurveda Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas¹⁰. Kauṭilya classifies Badara as an acid fruit¹¹. It is described in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and *Bṛhat Samhitā*.¹²

1. N, 125. 10; II. 10. 24; I. 110. 28; 117. 3; 70. 60.

2. MD; N, I. 80. 290; 90. 154, 146.

3. WD; Index; A D.

4. V. Ind, I. pp. 43-44; SRL, p. 143; HSL-Mac, p. 146; CHVP, p. 231.

5. Pān. IV. 3.48; IP, p. 211; Arth, 1.20. p. 40; Brs, 59.5; Vā, 75.71; CHVP, p. 108.

6. N, II. 52. 18; 1.70. 106; 16.6; 65. 31; 76. 35.

7. WD; Index; Arth, 2.12 p. 82; Brs, 58. 32.

8. Vsp, pp. 113, 115-120; Vā, 38. 66-70; CHVP, pp. 108, 231.

9. N, I. 75. 4.

10. WD; V. Ind, II. p. 59.

11. Arth, 2.15. p. 94.

12. CHVP, p. 108; Brs, 54. 75.

Its fruits and sticks are used in worship and homa. According to Nārada, it is found in Divyāśrama¹.

21. Bakula

Mimusops elengi commonly known as 'Vakula'². It is mentioned by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira³. Its leaves are used in worship and flowers in homa. According to Nārada, it is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva⁴.

22. Bandhujīva

Bandhujīva or Bandhūka is Pentapetes phoenicea. It is referred to by Varāhamihira⁵. According to Nārada, flowers of this plant 'Bandhūka' are used in homa and in worship. But they are not used in Śiva worship⁶.

23. Bhṛṅga

Verbesina calenulacea. Its leaves are used in worship⁷.

24. Bhūrja

Batula bhojpattra or the Birch tree. It is referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira⁸. According to Nārada, on its bark was inscribed a yantra⁹.

25. Bijapūraka

Citrus medica or citron plant. It is taken as being same as Mātuliṅga or Mātuluṅga¹⁰ or Mātulaṅga. Kauṭilya and Caraka refer to Mātuluṅga and it is mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*¹¹. Varāhamihira refers to Bijapūra¹². The fruits of Bijapūraka are offered to lord Śiva¹³. Mātuliṅga is used in worship, except in the case of the Sun-god. It is said that this plant grows in the hermitage of Vāmadeva¹⁴. Cf. Mātuliṅga, No. 106.

1. N, I. 67. 64-65; 74. 164; 80. 271.
2. WD; Index; AD; N, I. 65. 31.
3. Arth, 2.11. p. 80; Brs. 54. 119.
4. N, I. 65. 31; 87. 89; II. 10.24.
5. WD; Index; Brs. 70.6.
6. N, I. 80. 79; 90. 199, 96; 67.61.
7. N, I. 113. 31.
8. WD; AD; Arth, 2.17, p. 100; Brs. 51.14.
9. N, I. 74. 188.
10. WD; Vsp, p. 244.
11. Arth, 2.15. p. 94; Vsp, pp. 92-94; CHVP, pp. 111, 234.
12. Brs, 55 4.
13. N, I. 116. 34.
14. N, I. 67.62; II. 10 25.

26. Bilva

Aegle marmeloss or the common wood-apple. It is referred to in the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas*. According to the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, Bilva was used for the sacrificial post¹. Pāṇini and Varāhamihira mention it. It is a yajñīya tree and its sticks are used in śrāddha². The daṇḍa of a Vaiśya is of Bilva. Its stick is used in cleaning the teeth and its leaves and fruits are used for worship and sacrificial purposes³. It is the same as Śrīphala⁴.

27. Bimba

Cephalandra indica. It is mentioned in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* and also by Patañjali.⁵ In the classical Sanskrit literature the lips of maiden are usually compared to its fruit. Cf. Bimboṣṭhī, i. e., having lips as ruddy as the bimba fruit.⁶

28. Brahma Vṛkṣa

Ficus glomerata. It may be either the Palāśa or the Udumbara tree. Flowers of this tree are used in homa.⁷

29. Brāhmī

Herpestis Monnieria or Ruta graveolens. It is a popular herb according to Patañjali.⁸ A medicine, Brāhmī ghṛta, made of this plant and mixed with ghee, etc., is prescribed for the improvement of wisdom.⁹

30. Bṛhati

The egg plant. It is referred to by Varāhamihira.¹⁰ Its fruits are offered to gods, especially to Lord Śiva. Its leaves are recommended as offering to Lord Ekadanta (Gaṇeśa).¹¹

1. WD; Index; AD; V. Ind, II. p. 68.

2. Pāṇ, IV. 3. 136; IP, p. 211; Brs, 54. 18; CHVP, p. 109.

3. N, I. 25. 19; 27.24; 73.140; 87.9; 113.20.

4. AD; N, I. 87. 21.

5. WD; J. UP. Br, III. 5.6; V. Ind, II. p. 68; Pat, I.I.58. p. 153; L, 13; ITP, p. 98.

6. N, II. 28. 11.

7. AD; N, I. 87.62.

8. WD; Index; Bhāṣya, III. 233 on Pāṇini, IV. 4. 171; IP, p.216.

9. N, I. 70. 68.

10. AD; Brs, 85.5

11. N, I. 116. 35; 79.235; 113.33.

31. Campaka

Michelia champaca. It is a tree bearing yellow and fragrant flowers.¹ It is mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Suśruta and Varāhamihira refer to this plant.² According to Nārada, this plant is found in the hermitage of Bhṛgu and Vāmadeva and in Kailāsa. The flowers of this tree are used in worship and for homa.³

32. Caṇaka

Cicer arietinum, the Chick-pea. It is included by Caraka and Suśruta in the group of pulses. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* includes it among the Grāmya oṣadhis. Varāhamihira also refers to it.⁴ It is offered to god as naivedya and is useful in homa. Its use is prohibited on Daśamī day.⁵

33. Candana

Santalum album or the sandal wood. It is mentioned as a drug by Kauṭilya, Cāṇakya, Caraka and Suśruta.⁶ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* refers to a forest of Candana in the Kuru land. Varāhamihira also refers to it.⁷ According to the *Nāradiya*, it is one of the threes found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva. It is used in homa and worship. A variety of Candana, Rakta Candana, is used for external application on the body. Candana is one of the medicines for preparing a mixture of tilaka. The theft of candana is held to be as heinous as that of gold.

34. Ciñcā

Ficus chinchā of the tamarind. It is used in the Kāmya rites and in tarpaṇa.⁸

35. Dāḍima

Punica granatum or the Pomegranate tree.⁹ It is referred to in the *Ardharcādigāṇa*; but the first definite reference to the fruit of this tree is seen only in *Patañjali*. Caraka, Suśruta

1. WD; Index; AD.

2. Vsp, pp. 119, 132; CHVP, pp. 109, 231; Brs, 77.6.

3. N, I. 16.6; II. 10.26; I. 125. 10; 90.49; 80.144.

4. WD; Index; AD; Vsp, pp. 107, 115. 236; Vā, 8. 152; CHVP, pp. 109, 232; Brs. 15.14.

5. N, I. 90.86; 90.180; 120. 86.

6. WD; Index; AD; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 206. p. 441; Vsp, pp. 97, 99, 101, 102, 103, 236; CHVP, p. 232.

7. CHVP, p. 109; Brs, 44.9.

8. Index; AD; N, I. 80. 126-127.

9. WD; Index; AD; MD.

and Varāhamihira mention it. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, a Dāḍima forest is situated in the region between the Nāga and the Kapiñjala mountains.¹ According to Nārada it is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva. Its leaves and fruits are used in worship and also for decorative purposes.²

36. Damanaka

It is identified with *Aeschynomene aspera* and also with *Artemisia Indica*. Its leaves are used in worship.³

37. Darbha

Poa cynosuroides or *Eragrostis cyanosuroides*. It is the same as Kuśa. It is the sacred grass.⁴ The *R̥gveda* and *Atharvaveda* mention Darbha. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to Kuśa.⁵ This plant is mentioned by Pāṇini and Varāhamihira.⁶ According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Darbha is used in śrāddha.⁷ Nārada finds the use of Kuśa in worship and homa and in making some articles like mats, etc. Elsewhere it is said that Darbha was used by Viṣṇu to pierce an eye of Śukra after chanting Brahmāstramantra over it. According to Nārada, Darbha is used in worship and śrāddha also.⁸ Cf. Kuśa, No. 89.

38. Dhātri

Grislea tomentosa or *Phyllanthus emblica*. Varāhamihira refers to it.⁹ According to Nārada, it is used in worship and homa. But it is not used in the worship of Ambikā. It is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva. According to V. S. Apte it is called Āmalaka.¹⁰ Cf. Āmalaka, No. 5.

39. Dhattūra

Datura hummatu or the white thorn-apple. The flowers of this tree are used in homa and in the worship of almost all gods

1. Pāṇ, II, 4.31; IP, pp. 216, 217; Vsp, pp. 102, 112, 114, 237; Vā, 38. 66-70; CHVP, pp. 108-109, 232; Brs, 85.7.
2. N, II. 10.26; I. 67. 63, 65; 115. 16-17.
3. MD; N, I. 67. 63.
4. Index; AD; Vsp, p. 178; UV, p. 122.
5. V. Ind, I. pp. 340, 173.
6. Pāṇ, IV. 3. 142; V. 3. 105; IP. pp. 214-215; Brs, 95.5; 24.7.
7. Vā, 75. 17-18; 83. 79; CHVP, p. 109.
8. N, I. 67.63; 51.83; 27.38; 11. 174-177; 66.60. 28.37.
9. Index; WD; AD; Brs, 76.6.
10. N, I. 67.64; 71.84; 67.69; II. 10.26.

except Viṣṇu. It is said that the Dhattūra flower is pleasing to Śiva.¹

40 Drākṣā

Vitis vinifera, the vine or grape. Pāṇini, Caraka, Suśruta and Varāhamihira and the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* mention it². According to Nārada, it is one of the eight articles used in homa and a kind of liquor is prepared out of it.³

41. Droṇa

Phlomis indica. It bears (white) flowers. Its flower is pleasing to Śiva⁴.

42. Dūrvā

Cynodon stellatus or *Agrostis linearis* or the bent grass. It is mentioned in the *R̥gveda* and later literature.⁵ Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira refer to it⁶. Dūrvā is used in homa and sandhyāvandana in lieu of Darbha. It is taboo in goddess-worship. Dhavala Dūrvā, i. e., the white one, is used as a pen in writing yantras⁷. According to V. S. Apte, Dūrvā is identified with Virajā. Cf. Virajā, No. 170.

43. Elā

Elettaria cardamomum. This plant is referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira. It is used in worship. The oil produced from it is used for lighting purposes⁹.

44. Eraṇḍa

Ricinus communis. It is mentioned by Cāṇakya.¹⁰ The oil extracted from this plant is used in homa.¹¹

45. Girikarṇī

Alhagi maurorum. It is Girikarṇī or Girikarṇikā used in homa.¹²

1. WD; Index; AD; N, I. 74.36; 67,60; 79.234.
2. WD; Index; AD; Pāṇ, IV. 3.167; IP, p. 216; Vsp, pp. 91, 96, 102, 116, 237; Vā, 38. 66-70; CHVP, pp. 108, 109; Brs. 55,4.
3. N, I 84. 19; 30. 30.
4. Index; AD; N, I. 79. 234.
5. WD; Index; AD; V. Ind, I. p. 372.
6. Arth, 14. 2, p. 414; Brs, 54. 37.
7. N, I. 17. 59; 79. 249; 67. 62; 85. 127.
8. WD; Index; Arth, 2.25. p. 120; Brs, 27.4.
9. N. I. 90. 31-32; 75. 12.
10. WD; Index; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 452. p. 451.
11. N, I. 80. 281.
12. Index; WD; N, I. 87. 84.

46 Godhūma

Triticum sativum or *Triticum aestivum*, the wheat. It is referred to in the *Yajurveda* and *Brāhmaṇas* as distinct from rice and barley.¹ Caraka, Suśruta, Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira mention it.² The *Vāyu Purāṇa* includes it in the Grāmya Oṣadhi group. The land in which Godhūma grows is auspicious for making a gift. It is used for naivedya and for homa and it is one of the five grains used for lighting lamps during worship.³

47. Guḍa

The cotton tree This is used for decorative purposes.⁵

48. Guñjā

Abrus precatorius. It bears a red black berry. Varāhamihira refers to this.⁶ Nārada mentions it as a unit of weight.⁷

49. Haridrā

Curcuma longa or the Turmeric. Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira mention it.⁸ Nārada mentions its use for homa and worship.⁹

50. Haritāla

Orpiment or *Culumba harriyala*. It is referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira.¹⁰ Its powder is used for inscribing yantras.¹¹

51. Hayamāra

Nerium odorum or *Nerium tinctorium* or the fragrant oleander. It is used for homa.¹²

52. Hintāla

Phoenix paludosa, a kind of palm. Nārada refers to it as found in the hermitage of Bhṛgu.¹³

1. WD; Index; AD; V. Ind, I. p. 237.
2. Vsp, pp. 101, 115; CHVP, p. 232; Arth, 2.11. p. 79; Brs, 15.6.
3. Vā, 8. 150; CHVP, p. 109.
4. N, I. 11. 130; 69.95; 90.151; 75.7.
5. AD; N, I 115. 19.
6. Index; WD; AD; Brs, 81.8.
7. N, II. 42.34.
8. Index; WD; AD; Arth, 2.12. p. 81; Brs, 79.2.
9. N, I. 86.97; 19.12.
10. WD; MD; Arth, 2.12. p. 81; Brs, 44.9.
11. N, I. 86. 106-107.
12. Index; WD; AD; N, I. 74.55.
13. Index; WD; AD; N, I. 16.6.

53. Ikṣu

Saccharum officinarum, the sugar-cane. It is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* and the later *Saṁhitās*.¹ Pāṇini refers to it. Kauṭilya mentions it under Kṣāra and Caraka describes its medicinal properties. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, it is used in śrāddha.² Its sticks are used for homa and dāna.³

54. Jambira

The Citrus Bergamia. Its fruit is used in worship. This plant seems to have been known by the name Bijapūra also, (Cf. Supra. S. No 25) or that may be a different species of the same plant.⁴

55. Jambu

Eugenia jambolana,⁵ also termed as Jamvu or Jambū. It is the rose apple tree.⁶ It is referred to by Pāṇini and Kauṭilya.⁷ According to the Jaina Sūtras, it is an abode of deity. Caraka describes its medicinal properties. The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* and *Vāyu Purāṇa* refer to it.⁸ Its fruits are used in worship and homa.⁹

56. Japā

Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, the China rose. It is referred to in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and by Varāhamihira.¹⁰ Its flowers are used for worship and homa; but not in the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva.¹¹

57. Jaṭāmāṁsi

Nardostachys Jatamansi. It is used for dhūpa in worship.¹²

58. Jāti

Jasminum Grandiflorum or the Jasmine plant. Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira refer to it.¹³ The flowers of this plant are used

1. Index; AD; WD; VSP, p. 239; V. Ind, I. p. 74.
2. Pāṇ, VIII 4. 5; IP, p. 209; Arth, 2. 24. p. 117; Vsp, p. 91; Vā, 78. 7-8; CHVP, pp. 110, 232.
3. N, I. 68. 19; 13. 97; 3. 44.
4. WD; Index; Vsp, p. 239; N, I. 67. 65.
5. Vsp, p. 239; Index; WD.
6. N, I. 67. 65; 90. 156; AD.
7. Pāṇ, V. 3. 165; IP, p. 213; Arth, 2. 12. p. 81.
8. SBE, pp. 45, 48; Vsp, p. 95; CHVP, pp. 232, 110; Brs, 85. 7.
9. N, I, 67. 65; 90. 156.
10. WD; Index; AD; Vā, 75.34; CHVP, p. 110; Brs, 28.14.
11. N, I. 67. 60-61; 83.67.
12. WD; Index; N, I.75.83.
13. WD; Index; AD; Arth, 2. 11. p. 78; Brs. 77.7.

for homa and worship, and fruits in the preparation of madhuparka.¹

59. Jiraka

The Cuminum Cyminum or the Cumin seed. It is mentioned by Varāhamihira.² It is used in homa and gift.³

60. Kadali

Musa Sapientum of Melastoma malabarica or the plantain tree. It is referred to by Kauṭilya, Suśruta, Varāhamihira and the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*.⁴ Its fruits are used in worship and homa. According to Nārada, Kadali is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva.⁵

61. Kadamba

Anthocephalus cadamba. It is referred to as a medicinal plant by Caraka and Suśruta. Varāhamihira mentions it.⁶ It is used in yajña and its stick for cleaning teeth.⁷

62. Kairava

Kairava is a synonym for Kumuda, the Nymphaea lotus or Nymphaea red, the water-lily. It blooms at moonrise.⁸ Its other varieties are known as Kumuda and Utpala.⁹ It is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*. Pāṇini, Caraka and Varāhamihira refer to it.¹⁰ The Vāyu and the Kūrma Purāṇas also mention it.¹¹ It is a plant, found on the banks of Kālindī, according to Nārada. The red-coloured Kairava is used in worship and homa.¹²

63. Kalhāra

Nymphaea edulis, the white water-lily. According to Watt it is the same as Kumuda and Kamala. It is referred to by Varāha-

1. N, I. 70. 174; 75. 73; 67. 28.
2. WD; Index; AD; Brs, 51.15.
3. N, I. 74.55; 112. 48.
4. WD; Index; AD; Arth, 2. 12. p. 83; Vsp, pp. 63, 99, 123; Vā, 38 66-70; CHVP, pp. 108, 110, 232; Brs, 55.4.
5. N, I. 67.64; 74.18; II. 10.24.
6. WD; Vsp, pp. 93, 99, 102; Brs, 54.78.
7. N, I. 90.37; 50.210.
8. WD; AD; Vsp, pp. 95, 110, 119, 125, 242.
9. N, I. 90. 70; 70. 200; 68.37.
10. V. Ind, I. p. 163; Pāṇ, IV. 2.80; IP, p. 215; Brs, 4.30.
11. CHVP. pp. 111, 234; K, II. 18.86.
12. N, I. 80. 109; 90. 90, 98, 153.

mihira.¹ It is found on the banks of Kālindī. It is used in homa and worship. Garlands are made of it.²

64. Kalpadruma or Kalpavṛkṣa

Borassus dichotoma. It is one of the celestial trees and is known to fulfil all desires. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, honey is extracted from it.³ Nārada also mentions it as one of the kalpapādapas (celestial trees), viz., Mandāra, Santānaka, Pārijātaka, Kalpadruma and Haricandana.⁴

65. Kaṅkola

Monier Williams mentions that it is a kind of plant. The plant may be identified with 'Kaṅkelly', the Aśoka tree. It is said to belong to the Kaṣāya group, and is used in worship and in the preparation of Madhuparka.⁵

66. Kapi

It is a species of Karañja. Karañja is identified by Monier Williams as 'Pongamia glabra'.⁶ Its wood is used in making the idol of Gaṇeśa. It is a medicine used for preparing a tilaka in connection with witchcraft practices.⁷

67. Kapittha

Ecronia elephantum or the wood apple tree. According to Kauṭilya, oil is extracted from this tree. Buddhaghōṣa, Caraka, Suśruta and Varāhamihira refer to it.⁸ According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, its use is prohibited in śrāddha.⁹ It is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva, according to the *Nāradiya Purāṇa*.¹⁰

68. Karañja

Pongamia glabra. It is a tree used in medicinal preparations. It is referred to in the *R̥gveda*, *Arthaśāstra* and *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*.¹¹ Its

1. Index; WD; AD; Brs, 56.4.
2. N, I. 80. 108; 87.84; 90.49; 87.129
3. Index; AD; MD; Vā, 8.128; CHVP, p. 110.
4. N, I. 80. 69-70; 36.18.
5. MD; WD; M, 217. 80; 96.7; CHMP, p. 423; N, I. 90.31; 67.28.
6. AD; MD.
7. N, I. 68.56; 87.95.
8. WD; Index; AD; Arth, 2.15. p. 95; Vsp, pp. 65, 111, 117, 133, 174, 240; CHVP, p. 233; Brs, 55.22.
9. Vā, 76. 75-76; CHVP, p. 110.
10. N, II. 10.25.
11. WD; Index; V. Ind, I. p. 138; Arth, 2.25. p. 121; Brs, 54.33.

sticks are used in cleaning teeth and as a pen in inscribing yantras; its wood is used in making the idol of Hanumān; oil is extracted from it for lighting lamps, and the seeds and the flowers are used for sacrificial and decorative purposes.¹

69. Kāravella

Monordica Charantia. It is a bitter vegetable.² Its fruits are used in naivedya and decoration.³

70. Karavīra

Nerium odorum. It is a species of Soma. According to Apte, it is *Karīra*, which seems to be a different plant *Capparis aphylla*.⁴ Kautīlya, Caraka and Varāhamihira mention it. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* also refers to it.⁵ Its sticks are used for homa, worship and cleaning the teeth. *Karavīra* is said to be a tree related to the Sun god. It is worshipped by the people during Tilaka-vrata. It has two varieties, viz., red and white.⁶

71. Karcūra

Curcuma Zedoaria or Zedoary or turmeric. It is a kind of fragrant tree. Varāhamihira refers to it.⁷ It is a medicine utilised in a mixture for preparing a tilaka in witchcraft.⁸

72. Karkandhū

Zizyphus anoplia. It is referred to in the R̥gveda. Pāṇini also mentions it.⁹ It is used in śrāddha.¹⁰

73. Karṇikāra

Pterospermum acerifolium. It is also identified with *Hibiscus mutabilis* and *cassia fistula*.¹¹ Cāṇakya and Varāhamihira refer to it.¹² It is used in homa. There is a reference to its forest situated in Meru.¹³

1. N, I. 50. 210; 73. 40; 74. 28; 75.6; 90. 211; 115. 18
2. WD; AD.
3. N, I. 115. 17.
4. WD; MD; Vsp, pp. 92, 124, 240.
5. Arth, 14.1. p. 411; Brs, 85.6; Mṛccha, act X. verse 2.
6. N, I. 85.8; 115.11; 50.210; 122.20; 110.15; 90.205.
7. WD; Index; AD; Brs, 77.13.
8. N, I. 86. 38-40
9. Vsp, p. 241; V. Ind, I. p. 139; Pāṇ, V. 2.24; IP, p. 213.
10. N, I. 51. 130.
11. WD; MD; UV, p. 121; AD.
12. Arth; Cāṇakya Sūtra, 454. p. 451; Brs, 54.59.
13. N, I. 87. 26; 58.2.

74. Kārpāsa

Gossipium herbaceum or cotton. It is referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira.¹ Its seeds are used in homa, and clothes are made of it.² Guḍa, referred to mean cotton, may be a different species. Cf Guḍa, No. 47.

75. Karpūra

Camphor or *Laurus Camphora*. It is used for arghya. An oil extracted from it is used in lighting lamps. It is also used in witchcraft.³

76. Kāśa

Saccharum spontaneum. It is a kind of grass used for mats, roofs, etc. The *R̥gveda* refers to it⁴. Pāṇini and Varāhamihira also mention it. Patañjali mentions Kuśā-kāśam as names of grasses. This is one of the five medicinal herbs of the Pañcatṛṇa group of Suśruta's classification. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* refers to it.⁵ This is used by the forest dwellers. The flower of this is taboo in Jagadambikā worship.⁶

77. Kesara

Mesua ferrea or *Mimusops elengi*. Apte identifies it with Bakula and Punnāga tree. In classical literature the term 'Keśara' is used often. Varāhamihira refers to it⁷. It is taboo in Śiva worship⁸.

78. Ketaka or Ketaki

Pandanus odoratissimus. According to Nārada, it is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva. It is used in Hari worship, Devī yajña and homa, but is taboo in Maheśvara (Śiva) worship⁹.

79. Khadira

Acacia catechu. It is referred to as a tree with hard wood in the *R̥gveda*. Pāṇini mentions it. According to Patañjali, it is

1. WD; Index; Vsp, p. 241; Arth, 2.15. p. 96; Brs, 5.75.
2. N, I. 90. 208; 116.30.
3. WD; Index; N, I. 68 50; 75.12; 86. 38-40.
4. WD; AD; V. Ind, I. p. 153.
5. Pāṇ, IV. 2.80; IP, p. 214; Brs, 54. 103; Vsp, pp. 178, 241; Vā. 75. 41; CHVP, p. 110.
6. N, I. 43. 121; 67. 68.
7. WD; Index; Vsp, p. 241, AD; MD; Brs, 77. 5.
8. N. I. 67. 61.
9. WD; Index; N, II. 10. 25; I. 13. 61; 90. 43, 170.171, 67, 61.

of white and hard trunk and has small leaves. Kauṭilya calls it Śāradāru¹. Caraka, Suśruta and Varāhamihira refer to it. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions its use in śrāddha.² Its stick are used in homa, in cleaning the teeth and also as Gṛhaśaṅku. It is used in naivedya. The leave, though rent, are considered auspicious in worship³.

80. Kharjūra

Phoenix dactylifera or Phoenix sylvestris or the date. It is referred to in the *Tajurveda*.⁴ Caraka and Suśruta mention it. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* says that the heads of Yatis cut off by Indra turned into the Kharjūra plants⁵. According to Narada, it is found in Vāmadevaśrama. A kind of liquor is also prepared out of it.⁶

81. Kicaka

Bambusa arundinacia. It is referred to in the description of hells⁷.

82. Kimśuka

Butea frondosa. It is same as Palāśa⁸. The R̥gveda refers to Kimśuka and the Brāhmaṇas Palāśa.⁹ Pāṇini and Kauṭilya mention Palāśa¹⁰. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Palāśa is found in Campaka forest¹¹. Varāhamihira also refers to Kimśuka and Palāśa¹². The flowers of Kimśuka are used in worship. The stick of Palāśa is used as daṇḍa by Brāhmaṇas and its twigs in cleaning the teeth and the wood in making laddles. The white category is used in witchcraft for making a Pādukā. It is also used as Gṛhaśaṅku. Its flowers are used in worship, but it is forbidden in the worship of Jagadambikā. It is used for sacrificial purposes¹³. Cf Palāśa, No. 120.

1. WD; Index; V. Ind, I. p. 213; Pāṇ. VIII. 4.5; Ip, p. 211; Arth, 2, 7. p. 100
2. Vsp. pp. 67, 99, 133; Vā. 74. 9; CHVP. pp. 110. 233.
3. N. I. 51. 82; 50. 210; 56. 574; 67. 73, 66-67.
4. WD; Index; Vsp, p. 241; AD; V. Ind. I. p. 215.
5. Vā, 65 75-84; CHVP. 110, 233.
6. N. II. 10. 25; 30. 30
7. WD; Index; N. I. 31. 10.
8. WD; Vsp. pp. 241. 245
9. V. Ind. I. pp. 156, 506
10. Pāṇ, IV. 3. 14i; IP, p. 211, Arth, 2. 12. p. 83.
11. Vā, 37. 18-19; CHVP, p. 112.
12. Brs, 6. 13; 29.6.
13. N, I. 90.96; 25.18; 50.209; 51.40; 86.103; 56.574; 67.68; 87, 9.

83. Kodrava

Paspalum scrobiculatum. It is a species of grain eaten by the poor. Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira refer to it¹. Eating it is forbidden on Daśamī day.²

84. Koraṇṭa

Acacia intsia or *Mimosa intsia*. The terms Korinda and Korinta given by Watson and the term Koranda by Monier Williams may be the same as Nārada's Koraṇṭa. According to Nārada Koraṇṭa flowers are used for homa.³

85. Kramuka

Areca catechu or the betel nut. It is referred to as Kṛmuka in the *Kaṭhaka Saṁhitā* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and is used for fuel⁴. Kauṭilya mentions Kramuka and Varāhamihira Pūga⁵. According to Nārada, it is used in worship and is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva. It is said that the theft of Kramuka fruit is equivalent to that of gold. It is also known as Pūga⁶.

86. Kulatha

Dolichos biflorus. It is a kind of pulse referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira⁷. According to the *Nāradiya*, it is used for lighting purposes in connection with the worship of Hanumān⁸.

87. Kunda

Jasminum pubescens or *Jasminum* Sp. The *Kaśika* refers to 'Kundalātā', the creeper flowering in the spring season. Varāhamihira also mentions it⁹. According to Nārada, it is found in the hermitage of Bhṛgu and on the banks of Kālindī. Its flowers are used in home and worship, but it is forbidden in Maheśvara (Śiva) worship¹⁰.

1. WD; Index; AD; Arth, 2.15, p. 95; Brs, 77.2.
2. N, I. 120. 86, 87.
3. Index; MD; N, I. 87.85.
4. Index; AD; V. Ind, I. p. 180.
5. Arth; 2.25. p. 121; Brs, 77.36.
6. Index; WD; N, I. 116.7; II. 10.26; I. 15. 37-38; 51.96; 67. 73-74.
7. Vsp, p. 242; Arth, 14.2. p. 414; Brs, 41.5.
8. N, I. 75.10.
9. WD; Index; Vsp, p. 242; IP, p. 216. Brs, 4.30.
10. N, I. 16.6; 80.108; 71.82; 113. 81; 67.61.

88. Kuranda

Barleria prionites or the yellow amaranth. *Suśruta* mentions it as a drug¹. Its flowers are used in homa².

89. Kuśa

Aragrostis cynosuriodes or *Pos Cynosurioides*. It is the same as *Darbha*³. Cf. No. 37.

90. Kūsmāṇḍa

Benincasa cerifera or the Cucurbite Pepo. It is a kind of pumpkin, which is mentioned by *Suśruta*. Its fruit is used for decorative purposes⁴.

91. Kusumbha

Carthamus tinctorius. It is referred to by *Kauṭilya*⁵. *Varāhamihira* mentions *Kausumbha*. Its flowers are used in homa⁶.

92. Kuṭaja

Wrightia antidysenterica or *Holarrhena antidysenterica*⁷. It is referred to by *Pāṇini*, *Kauṭilya* and *Varāhamihira*⁸. Its flower is taboo in *Maheśvara* (*Śiva*) worship⁹.

93. Lakuca

Artocarpus Lakoocha. It is a kind of bread fruit tree containing a large quantity of sticky, milky juice. *Caraka*,¹⁰ *Suśruta* and *Varāhamihira* refer to it. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, its juice is a drink.¹¹ It is used in worship.¹²

94. Laśuna

Allium sativum or the garlic. It is used in homa.¹³

1. UV, p. 122; AD; Vsp, p. 119.
2. N, I. 80. 143.
3. Index; AD; Vsp, p. 178; UV, p. 122; N, I. 67.63; 51.83.
4. Vsp, p. 83, 118, 121. 122; WD; AD.
5. N, I. 115.16.
6. WD; Index; Arth, 2.15, p. 96; Brs, 10.11.
7. N, I. 68.40.
8. Index; WD; Pāṇ, V. 1. 150; IP, p. 213; Arth, 14. 1. p. 411; Brs, 29. 12
9. N, I. 67. 61.
10. WD; Index; AD; MD.
11. Brs, 55. 4; Vsp, pp. 111, 116; Vā, 75. 51; CHVP, pp. 111, 234
12. N, I. 90. 71
13. WD; Index; UV, p. 122; AD; N, I. 76. 31

95. Lavaṅga

Caryophyllus aromaticus or the clove plant. It is used in homa, madhuparka, etc.¹

96. Lodhra

Symplocos racemosa or *symplocos ferruginea*. It is a tree with red or white flowers and is referred to as one of the trees in the hermitage of Vāmadeva.²

97. Loṇa.

This may be the plant called Lonika, Lunia or Loni the *Portulaca oleracea*. It is used in homa.³

98. Mādhavi

Hiptage madablota. It is the spring creeper (*Vāsantī*) with white fragrant flowers. Lord Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are said to occupy the Mādhavī maṇḍapa.⁴

99. Madhūka

Bassia latifolia. It is a plant from blossoms and seeds of which arrac is distilled and oil extracted. It is the Aśoka tree according to Apte. Kauṭilya includes Madhūka in Sārādāruvarga. Varāhamihira refers to Madhūka.⁵ Its flowers are used in homa and worship. Oil is extracted from it (*Madhuvṛkṣa*). The term Madhuka also is used by Nārada.⁶

100. Mālatī

Aganosma caryophyllata. It is a kind of Jasmine with fragrant white flowers which open towards evening. Kauṭilya includes it in Valka Varga.⁷ Its flowers are used in homa and worship. According to Nārada, it is found in the hermitage of Bhṛgu.⁸

101. Mallikā

The Plant *Jasminum Sambac* is found on the banks of Kālindī. Its flowers are used in homa.⁹

1. WD; Index, AD; N, I. 74. 57; 67. 28

2. WD; Index; AD; N, II. 10. 27.

3. WD; Index; N, I. 80. 256.

4. WD; AD; MD; N, I. 81.87.

5. WD; Vsp, p. 243; MD; AD; Arth, 2.17. p. 99, Brs, 65.3.

6. N, I. 71.84; 90.71; 75.6.

7. WD; AD; MD; Arth, 2.17. p. 100.

8. N, I. 87.22; 115.11; 16.6.

9. WD; N, I. 80.108; 57.85.

102. Mandāra

Caloptropis Gigantea or the Coral tree, *Erythrina indica*. It is one of the five celestial trees and is said to be related to the Sun god. The Śveta Mandāra (white one) is referred to here. The Mandāra is prohibited in Śakti worship. It is used for decorative purposes also. According to Nārada it is seen on the Kailāsa mountain.¹

103. Marīca

Piper nigrum or the Pepper shrub. It is referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira. The term Marīca also is found in the *Arthaśāstra*.² Marīca is used in homa.³

104. Marubaka

It may be either *Ocimum* Sp. or the plant Marjoram.⁴ Its leaves are used in worship.⁵

105. Māṣa

Phaseolus Mungo or *Phaseolus radiatus* or bean. It is a kind of pulse having red marks with black and grey spots. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, it is one of the Grāmya Oṣadhis. Kauṭilya, Caraka, Suśruta and Varāhamihira refer to it.⁶ It is one of the five kinds of grains used in lighting purpose and homa. Its flour is used in preparing an idol of Hanumān.⁷

106. Mātuliṅga

Citrus medica. It is the same as Bijapūraka.⁸ Cf. No. 25.

107. Mocā

Musa sapientum or the *Bombax malabaricum*. Mocā is variously identified as the plantain tree, the cotton shrub or the indigo plant.⁹ Its fruit is used for sacrificial purposes.¹⁰

1. WD; Index; AD; MD; N, I. 80.69; 122. 19-20; 67.62; 73.68; 125.10.
2. WD; AD; MD; Arth, 2.25. p. 120; Brs, 51.15.
3. N, I. 74.55.
4. Vsp, pp. 75, 244; AD. MD.
5. N, I. 67.63
6. WD; Index; AD; Pat, 1.1.51 p. 127, L. 8; ITP, p. 94; Vā, 8. 151; CHVP, pp. 111, 234; Arth, 2.24, p. 116; Vsp, pp. 44.48, 107, 115, 116, Brs, 15.14.
7. N, I. 75.7; 90. 180; 74.42.
8. N, I. 67.62; AD; Vsp, p. 244.
9. Index; AD; MD; Vsp, p. 244.
10. N, I. 68. 19, 20; 80.127.

108. Mudga

Phaseolus mungo. It is a variety of kidney bean. It is referred to in the *Vājasaneyi Samhita*.¹ Patañjali, Kauṭilya, Caraka, Suśruta and Varāhamihira mention it. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* includes it among the Grāmya Oṣadhis². It is one of the five kinds of grains used for lighting purposes, and the porridge prepared of Mudga is offered as naivedya.³

109. Muni

Erithrina suberosa. Its leaves are used in worship.⁴

110. Nāgaraṅga

Citrus Aurantium. It is the Orange. It is called Nāraṅga also by Nārada. It is used as naivedya in worship.⁵

111. Nāgavalli

Piper Betle or *Chavica betel*. It is the same as Tāmbūla. The leaf of this plant is chewed together with the areca-nut, chunam and spices. Varāhamihira mentions Tāmbūla.⁶ It is used in offering as gift, naivedya, chewing, as a medicine in preparing a mixture for tilaka and in worship. Chewing of Tāmbūla is prohibited for a Brahmacārī and for the performer of śrāddha.⁷ Cf. Tāmbūla, No 154.

112. Nālikera

Cocos nucifera or the Cocoa-nut tree. It is variously termed as Nārikela or Nārikera.⁸ By its water the idols of Viṣṇu and Śiva are washed. Its fruit is used for homa, naivedya and decoration; it is also utilised for preparing liquor. According to Nārada, it is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva.⁹

1. WD; AD; V. Ind, II. p. 166.
2. Pat, V. 1.20, p. 345; L. 25; ITP, p. 94; Arth, 2.12. p. 82; Vsp, pp. 107, 115; Vā, 8.151; CHVP, pp. 111, 234; Brs, 5.75.
3. N, I. 75.7; 90.86.
4. Index; WD; N, I. 67.64.
5. MD; WD; N, I. 110.16; 116. 34-35; 79. 152.
6. WD; Index; Brs. 12.9; N, I. 79. 177; 67. 73-74.
7. N, I. 13. 95; 51. 96; 25.30; 83. 68; 67.63; 25.30; 28.3.
8. WD; Index; AD; N, I. 68.20; II. 41.66.
9. N, I. 13 39, 53; 68.20; 90.85; 115.16; 30.31; II. 10.25.

113. Nandyāvarta

This may be identified with the plant *Nandiaervatam*, *Tabernaemontana coronaria* referred to by Watson. *Nandikāvarta* is referred by *Varāhamihira*. According to *Nārada*, *Nandyāvarta* is used for homa.¹

114. Nepālī

Jetropha curcas or *croton tiglium*, the wild date tree.² It is used in worship.³

115. Nimba

Melia Azadirachta. It is a tree with bitter fruits⁴, and is referred to by *Cāṇakya* and *Varāhamihira*.⁵ According to *Nārada*, its stick is used in cleaning the teeth and in homa, its wood in making idol of *Gaṇeśa* and its leaf in worship. The *Nimba vrata* is observed by eating the leaves of *Nimba*. It is grown in the hermitage of *Vāmadeva*.⁶

116. Nīpa

Anthocephalus Cadamba or *Nīpa fruticosa* or *Nauclea Cadamba*. It is referred to by *Pāṇini* and *Varāhamihira*.⁷ *Nārada* describes *Kṛṣṇa* as sitting on a *Nīpa* tree after taking away the clothes of *Ballavī* (cowherdess).⁸

117. Nirguṇḍī

Vitex negundo or *Vitex trifolia*. Its roots are used in homa.⁹

118. Niṣpāva

Dolichos Lablab or *Lablab Vulgaris* or *Vigna catijang*. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions it as a *Grāmya Oṣadhi*. According to *Nārada*, *Niṣpāva* mixed with curd and oil was eaten by the husband of a chaste woman and he fell sick.¹⁰

1. Index; Brs, 29.8; N, I. 86.34.
2. WD; Index; AD; MD.
3. N, I. 115.11.
4. WD; AD; MD.
5. Arth, *Cāṇakya Sutra*, 497, p. 453; Brs, 54.115.
6. N, I. 27.24; 76.31; 68.56; 116. 19-20, II. 10.27.
7. WD; Vsp, p. 245; UV, p. 123; Pāṇ, IV. 3.152: IP, p 213; Brs, 54. 101.
8. N, I. 80. 147.
9. WD; Vsp, p, 245; N, I. 74.57; 87.152.
10. WD; Index; Vsp, pp. 107, 245; Vā, 8.151; CHVP, p. 111; N, II. 16.63.

119. Niśāpuṣpa

This may be identified with Nisha the curcuma longa or the water-lily, which is used for homa according to Nārada.¹

120. Palāśa

Butea frondosa. It is the same as Kimśuka.² Cf. Kimśuka, No 82.

121. Panasa

Artocarpus integrifolia, the breadfruit or Jack tree. It is referred to by Kauṭilya, Varāhamihira, Caraka and Suśruta. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* refers to a heavenly Panasa from which six types of rasas (tastes) are obtained.³ Its sprout and fruit are used in worship. A kind of liquor is prepared of it. According to Nārada, it is in the hermitage of Vāmadeva.⁴

122. Pārijāta

Identified as Erythrina indica and also as Nictanthes Arbor tristis. It is one of the five celestial trees. It is the coral tree, which loses its leaves in June and then puts forth large crimson flowers.⁵ Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira refer to it. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, it is found in the Mahendra forest,⁶ and according to the *Nāradiya*, it is found in the Kailāsa mountain. It is said that Pārijāta flower was taken away by the sons of Sagara.⁷

123. Pāṭala

Stereospermum Suaveolens for the trumpet flower. Pāṭalī is referred to by Pāṇini. Varāhamihira, Caraka and Suśruta mention Pāṭala. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* states that the fruits of Pāṭala formed the food of goddess Durgā in the course of her penance.⁸ It is used in homa.⁹

1. WD; Index; AD; N, I. 69. 134.

2. N, I. 25.18; WD; Vsp, p. 245.

3. WD; Index; MD; UV, p. 124; AD; Brs, 55.4; Vsp, pp. 68, 106, 112, 245; Vā, 43.4; CHVP, pp. 112, 235.

4. N, I. 65.31; 67.65; 30.30; II. 10.25.

5. UV, p. 124, WD; Index; Vsp, p. 246; AD; N, I. 80.69-70; MD.

6. Arth, 2.11 p. 76; Vā, 39, 11ff; CHVP, p. 112; Brs. 77.37.

7. N, I. 125. 10; 8.77

8. WD; AD; MD; Pān. IV. 3. 136; IP, p. 213; Vsp, pp. 96, 120; Vā, 72. 8-9; CHVP, pp. 112, 235; Brs, 29.7.

9. N, I. 80. 143; 90. 153

124. Picumarda

Azdirachta indica, the nimba tree. *Picumanda* is referred to by Cāṇakya and Varāhamihira.¹ Nārada says that the *Picumarda* fruits are eaten only by the crows.²

125. Pippala

Ficus religiosa or the holy fig tree. It is commonly called as Peepal.³ It is referred to in the *R̥gveda* and it means berry. *Pippalī*, the feminine form of *Pippala*, appears as denoting berries used as a remedy for wounds according to the *Atharvaveda*. *Pippalī* is referred to by Kautilya. Varāhamihira mentions *pippala*.⁴ According to Nārada, it is used in homa and it is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva.⁵

126. Plakṣa

Ficus wightiana or the waved-leaf fig tree. It is referred to in the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas*.⁶ Pāṇini also mentions⁷ it. It is a milky tree and it is used in homa. A variety of it, i. e., *Kṛṣṇa Plakṣa*, is mentioned as the progeny of Rudra's star, *Ādrā*.⁸

127. Priyāla (ka)

Buchanania Latifolia or the Piyal tree. It is referred to by Kautilya.⁹ It is said that sage Gautama offered *Priyālaka* to Īśa (Śiva).¹⁰

128. Priyaṅgu

Aglaia roxburghiana or the Millet. It is referred to in the *Tajurveda Samhitā* and *Brāhmaṇas*. Kautilya and Varāhamihira mention it.¹¹ It is used in worship. Nārada states that Mahī (the Earth Goddess) and Potrī (i. e., Varāha) are worshipped at the foot of this plant.¹²

1. AD; MD; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 457, p. 452; Brs, 29.12.
2. N, I. 36.12
3. Index, AD; MD; Vsp, p. 15.
4. V. Ind, I. P. 531; Arth, 2 24. p. 117; Brs, 54.96.
5. N, I. 51. 82; II. 10.26.
6. WD; AV, 5.5.5; It. S, 7.4.12.1; A. Br, 7.32. 8.16; It. Br, 3.8.3.
7. Pāṇ, IV. 3. 164; IP, p. 211.
8. N, I. 70.106; 68. 38; 56. 205.
9. WD; Index; MD; AD; Arth, 14.2. p. 415.
10. N, I. 97. 152.
11. WD; Index; V. Ind, II. p. 52; Arth, 2. 15. p. 95; Brs, 85. 7.
12. N, I. 110. 16; 68.25-26

129. Punnāga

Mallotus philippinensis or the Nutmeg. It is referred to by Varāhamihira.¹ It is used in homa and yajña and is very important for Śiva. It grows in the hermitage of Vāmadeva according to the *Naradīya Purāṇa*.²

130. Putrajīva

This plant may be the same as Putrañjīva the Putranjiva roxburghii. Its fruits are used in homa.³

131. Rajanikara

It is the plant camphor, the juice of which is mentioned as a medicine destroying the worms.⁴

132. Rājavr̥kṣa

It is identified as either *Buchanania latifolia* or as *Cassia fistula*. It is referred to by Kauṭilya.⁵ Its sticks are used as pens in writing yantras and its flowers in homa.⁶

133. Rāji

It is *Vernonia anthelminthica*. It is used for Arkayajña and for homa.⁷

134. Rājikā

Brassica campestris or *Brassica juncea*. It is black mustard seed used in homa. Oil extracted from it is used for lighting.⁸

135. Raktapuṣpa

It may be *Bauhinia purpurea* which is the Raktapuṣpa Kovidāra. It is used specially in offering arghya to the planet Kuja (Mars).⁹ Apte variously identifies it with some red-flowered plants like Karavīra, Rohitaka, etc.¹⁰

136. Saivāla

Vallisneria.¹¹ It is commonly known as moss. Nārada refers to it in the description of hells.¹²

1. WD; MD; AD; Brs, 55. 3
2. N, I. 87. 146; 90. 43; 79. 235; II. 10. 24
3. Index; Vsp, p. 247; WD; N, I. 80. 265
4. AD; N, II. 16. 75
5. Vsp, p. 247; AD; Arth, 2.12. p. 82.
6. N, I. 73.41; 80.142.
7. AD; N, I. 69. 38; 74.58.
8. WD; Vsp. p. 247; Index; AD; N, I. 74.35; 75.5.
9. Vsp, pp. 87, 247; N, I. 69.96.
10. AD.
11. AD; Vsp, p. 248; UV, p. 125; MD.
12. N, I. 31.10.

137. Śāla (Śāla)

Shorea robusta or *Boswellia thurifera*. It is referred to in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Śāla) and in the *Bṛhat Samhitā* (Śāla).¹ According to Nārada, it is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva and Bhṛgu and is used as *Gṛhaśāṅku*.²

138. Śali

The Paddy, or rice. It is known by the terms *Vrihi*, *Taṇḍula*, etc.³ *Vrihi* 'Rice' is not mentioned in the *R̥gveda*, but is frequently alluded to in the *Atharvaveda* and later. Pāṇini, Patañjali, Kauṭilya, Caraka, Suśruta and Varāhamihira refer to it. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* considers *Vrihi* as one of the *Grāmya Oṣadhis*.⁴ It is used for lighting purposes, worship, homa and as gift. The goddess *Bhārati* is described as holding ears of paddy in her hand⁵.

139. Śālmali

Bombex malabaricum or the silk] cotton tree. It is referred to by Pāṇini (Śālmali (?)) and Cāṇakya⁶. Its flowers are used in *Devīyajña*. It is mentioned in connection with the description of the hells⁷.

140. Śamī

Vachellia farnesiana or *Mimosa Suma* or *Prospis spicigera*. It is a tree which is said to contain fire. It is referred to in the *Atharvaveda* and later. In the *Atharvaveda* it is described as destructive to the hair and as producing intoxication. Its wood is used to make *araṇi* for kindling the sacred fire⁸. Its leaf is used in worship⁹.

141. Santānaka

Rhododendron arborium. It grows abundantly on the *Himālayas*. It is considered as one of the five celestial trees, and is worshipped by people.¹⁰

1. WD; Index; Vsp, p. 248; Vā, 43.6; CHVP, p. 112; Brs, 79 2.
2. N, II. 10.26; I. 16.6; 56. 574.
3. AD; MD; Vsp, p. 248; N, I. 69.39; 17.41; 75.7.
4. V. Ind, II. p. 345; Pāṇ. V. 2.2; IP, p. 205; ITP, p. 94; Arth, 2.30. p. 133; Vsp, pp. 106, 124; Vā, 8. 150; CHVP, pp. 113. 236.
5. N, I. 75.7; 74.125; 76.36; 17.41; 70.53.
6. WD; AD; Pāṇ, V. 2. 82; IP, p. 214; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 453. p. 451.
7. N, I. 90.40; 15.5.
8. Index; Vsp, p. 248; AD; MD; V. Ind, II pp. 354-355.
9. N, I. 113.31.
10. AD; MD; N, I. 80. 69-70.

142. Saralā

It may be identified with Sarala, the *Pinus longifolia*. It is a kind of pine tree. Sarala is referred to by Kauṭilya, Suśruta and in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*¹. Saralā is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva according to Nārada².

143. Sarṣapa

Brassica compestris or *Sinapis Dichotoma* or the mustard. It is referred to in the Vedic texts. Varāhamihira also mentions it³. It is added to the water for arghya; the white category of it is used in homa and the oil extracted from it is used for lighting purposes⁴.

144. Satapuṣpa

Peucedanum graveolince or *Pimpincella anisum*. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya⁵. Its seeds are used in homa⁶.

145. Śephālī

Nyctanthes arbor-tristis. Pāṇini refers to Śephālikā, a sweet-scented flower, and Patañjali, a cloth dyed with its colour, called śaiphālika. According to Nārada, its flowers are used in worship⁷.

146. Sevanti

Chrysanthemum coronarium or *Rosa glandulifera*. Sevanti and Sevatī, the Indian white rose, appear to be the same as Sevanti. Its flowers are used in homa.⁸

147. Sindūra

Grislea Pomentosa. Nārada recommends its leaves to be offered to Heramba (Gaṇeśa).⁹

148. Sinduvāraka

Vitex Nergundo or *Vitex trifolia*. According to Nārada, it is found in the hermitage of Vāmadeva.¹⁰ The form *Sindhuvāra*

1. WD; Index; AD; MD; Vsp, p. 121; CHVP, pp. 109, 112, 236.
2. N, II. 10. 24.
3. WD; Index; Vsp, p. 248; AD; MD; V. Ind, p. 439; Brs, 29.5.
4. N, I. 67.27; 90.103; 75.5.
5. Index; WD; AD; MD; Arth, 2.25, p. 121.
6. N, I. 72.16
7. WD; Index; IP, p. 215; N, I. 90.96.
8. WD; Index; MD; N, I. 71.80.
9. MD; N, I. 113. 33.
10. WD; Index; N, II. 10.25.

also is found elsewhere. Apte identifies Sinduvāraka with Nirguṇ-
ḍitaru.¹

149. Śirīṣa

Acacia lebbek or Mimosa Sirisa. It is referred to by Pāṇini, Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira.² It is used in cleaning the teeth.³

150. Śyāmāka

Pancium frumentaceum. It is a kind of grain or corn.⁴ According to the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, it is a cultivated light millet. It is the food of pigeons. Varāhamihira refers to it. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions that the śyāmāka-sticks are used in the āgrayaṇa offerings to pitṛs.⁵ According to Nārada, it is used in worship, especially as naivedya.⁶

151. Tagara

Tabernaemontana coronaria or Cassia tora. It is referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira.⁷ It is used in worship except in the case of the Sun god.⁸

152. Tāla

Borassus flabelliformis or the palmyra tree. The bows made of Tāla are referred to in the *Mahābhārata* and *Kāśikā*. Pāṇini, Caraka, Suśruta, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and Varāhamihira mention it.⁹ Nārada refers to a Tāla forest in the hermitage of Bhṛgu and Vāmadeva. A kind of liquor is extracted from it; its leaf is used as a seat during worship and in making gift. It is used in homa also.¹⁰

153. Tamāla

Garcinia Xanthochymus or Larces cassia. It is a tree with a very dark bark, but white blossoms.¹¹ This tree is referred to

1. Brs, 29.10; 54.101; Vsp, p. 249.
2. Index; Vsp, p. 249; Pāṇ, IV. 2.80; IP, p. 214; Arth, 14.2. p. 414; Brs, 3.28.
3. N, I. 50. 209.
4. WD; MD; AD.
5. V. Ind, II. p. 399; Brs, 14.28; Vā, 78. 6.9; CHVP, p. 113.
6. N, I. 114. 39.
7. WD; Arth, 14.4. p. 426; Brs, 77.13.
8. N, I. 90.70; 67.62.
9. WD; AD; MD; Pāṇ, IV. 3. 152; IP, p. 212; Brs, 51.14; Vsp, pp. 116-120; Vā, 37. 23ff; CHVP, pp 113, 236.
10. N, I. 16.6; II. 10.25; I. 30.30; 79.302; 117.68; 86.97.
11. WD; AD; MD.

by Caraka and Varāhamihira and also by the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.¹ According to the *Narada Purāṇa*, this is found in the hermitages of Bhṛgu and Vāmadeva. Even the broken Tamāla leaves are very auspicious in worship, except in the worship of Jagadambikā.²

154. Tāmbūla

Piper Betle or Chavica betel.³ Same as Nāgavallī. Cf. No. 111.

155. Tila

Sesamum indicum. Tila is referred to in the *Atharvaveda*. The oil, taila, extracted from it is used in the form of porridge for food.⁴ Pāṇini, Patañjali, Kauṭilya, Cāṇakya, Caraka, Suśruta and Varāhamihira mention it. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Tila is a Grāmya Oṣadhi.⁵ For homa, gift, śrāddha and arghya it is used and the oil is also used for washing the idols of Śiva, Viṣṇu and other deities. Its oil is also used in bathing and lighting.⁶

156. Tintiṇi

Tamerindus indica or tamarind. Monier Williams says the terms Tintioḍika or Tintiḍikā also are found. The fruits of it are used in worship.⁷

157. Tulasi

Ocimum Sanctum, the sacred Basil. It is used in homa and worship and also for śrāddha, according to some people. It is found as taboo in the worship of Gaṇeśa and that of Ambikā. The grove of this plant and the soil at the foot of this are considered very holy. Hari (Viṣṇu) resides in Tulasī.⁸

1. Vsp, p. 86; Vā, 75.32; CHVP, pp. 113, 236; Brs. 24.17.

2. N, I. 16.6; II. 10.26; I. 67. 66-69.

3. N, I. 28.3; WD; AD

4. WD; Index; V. Ind. I. p. 312.

5. Pāṇ, V. 24, V. 1.7; IP, p. 207; Pat, III. 2.28, p. 102; L. 6; ITP, p. 94; Ind. Verb; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 398, p. 449; Vsp. pp. 68, 108, 115, 132; Vā, 8. 150; CHVP, pp. 113, 236; Brs. 5.75

6. N, I. 17.17, 35; 28.36; 67.27; 13.55, 79; 75. 4-7.

7. WD; AD; MD; N, I. 67. 64-65.

8. WD; AD; N, I. 71.83; 13.33; 26.44; 67.62; 5.65-66; 6.20; 7.53.

158. Tuvāri

Sinapis species or the Alum. This is an auspicious plant. By giving away land with this as gift one gains great merit.¹

159. Udumbara

Ficus glomerata.² This is not mentioned in the *R̥gveda*, but is often mentioned from the *Atharvaveda* downwards. Its wood is used in the rituals and sacrifices.³ Pāṇini, Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira refer to it.⁴ It is a milky tree and is used for homa and especially in witchcraft. The pīṭha, sruva, etc., made of this wood are used in rituals and sacrifices.⁵

160. Unmatta

Thorn apple. Apte identifies it with Dhattūra. Its juice is used for writing yantras.⁶

161. Uśīra

Andropogon muricatus.⁷ This plant, referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira, is used in worship.⁸

162. Vacā

Acorus calamus. It has a kind of aromatic root.⁹ Varāhamihira makes a reference to it. It is used in the preparation of a medicine to procure progeny.¹⁰

163. Vamśa

Bambusa indica or *Bambusa arundinacea* or bamboo. It is also known by the terms Veṇu and Maskara.¹¹ Vessels made of this are used in giving gifts.¹²

1. AD; N, I. 11.130.
2. WD; MD; Index.
3. V. Ind, I. p. 87.
4. Pāṇ, III. 3. 152; IP, p. 214; Arth, 14. 2. p. 414; Brs, 54. 18.
5. N, I. 70. 106; 68. 38; 51. 69; 79. 45.
6. AD; N, I. 86. 106 ff.
7. WD, Index.
8. Arth, 2. 11. p. 78, Brs, 55. 7; N, I. 90. 159-160.
9. WD; AD; MD; Index.
10. Brs, 44.9; N, I. 68.82ff.
11. WD; Vsp, p. 252; AD.
12. N, I. 112. 48-49.

164. Vañjula

Saraca Indica or Jonnesia Pinnata.¹ Kauṭilya refers to this plant. Varāhamihira mentions Vañcula. Nārada mentions that it is found in the Kailāsa mountain. It is used for homa.²

165. Vaṭa

Ficus bengalensis or the fig tree.³ It is referred to in the Vedic literature and by Pāṇini, Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira. Lord Śiva is addressed as Vaṭa in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.⁴ It is a milky tree. Its sticks are used for cleaning the teeth and for homa. It is believed that Lord Hari lies on the Vaṭa leaf at the time of deluge.⁵

166. Vātāri

It is identified with Vātagnī, Cierodendron phylomoides and also with Ricinus communis.⁶ According to Nārada, it is used for homa.⁷

167. Vātāsa

It seems that Vātāsa is the same as Vetus or Vetasa, Calamus rotang or calamus viminalis.⁸ The term 'Vetasa' is used by Varāhamihira. According to Nārada, it is one of the eight articles used for homa.⁹

168. Vibhīta(ka)

Terminalis belerica. Pāṇini and Varāhamihira refer to Vibhītaka.¹⁰ According to Nārada, oil extracted from this is used for lighting and homa.¹¹

169. Vikaṅkata

Flocourtia sapida.¹² According to the later Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas, Vikaṅkata is the name of a tree. It is referred to

1. WD; Index.
2. Arth, 14, 2. p. 416; Brs, 54.50; N, I. 125. 10; 87. 148.
3. WD; AD.
4. Pāṇ, VI. 2.82; IP, p. 211; Brs, 85.3; Ind. Verb; Vā, 30. 250; CHVP, pp 113. 236.
5. N, I. 70. 106; II 43.30-31; I. 68.38; 4.44.
6. WD; Vsp, p. 252; Index.
7. N, I. 74.56.
8. WD; Vsp, p. 253; Index.
9. Brs, 54.86; N, I. 84.19.
10. WD; Index; Pāṇ, IV. 3. 152; IP. p. 214; Brs, 53.120.
11. N, I. 75.5; 76.32.
12. MD.

by Pāṇini, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and Varāhamihira.¹ Nārada says that Gautama offered the fruit of Vikaṅkata to Īśa. It (Vikaṅkata) is used for homa.²

170. Virajā

Dūrvā grass is identified with this plant. Nārada refers to this in the description of Goloka. Cf. Dūrvā, No. 42.³

171. Viṣṇukrāntā

Clitoria Ternatea or Evolvulus alsinoidea. Its leaves are used in worship.⁴

172. Vṛntāka

The egg plant. The fruit of it is one of the seven fruits offered to Lord Śiva.⁵

173. Yava

Hordeum Vulgare or Barley.⁶ In the *R̥gveda* this word seems to have been used as a general term for any sort of grain. According to the *Atharvaveda* and the later Saṁhitās, Yava means barley.⁷ Pāṇini, Patañjali, Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira mention Yava. It is a Grāmya Oṣadhi according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.⁸ Nārada mentions its used in worship and in śrāddha.⁹

ii. Fauna

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* classifies animals into two groups, viz., domestic and wild, and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* into three as Aṇḍaja, Jivaja and Udbhijja, on the basis of bīja (ovum or seed). The Jaina Sūtras, *Bhagavad Gītā* and *Manusmṛti* divide the animal kingdom into four, as Aṇḍaja, Udbhijja, Svedaja and Jarāyuja. Caraka and Suśruta also were very much familiar with this method of classification.¹⁰

1. V. Ind, II. p. 294; Pāṇ, IV.3.141; IP, p. 213; Vā 77.79; CHVP, p. 109; Brs, 85.3.
2. N, I. 79. 152; 90. 153.
3. AD; N, II. 59.4.
4. WD; Index, N, I. 67. 63.
5. MD, AD; N, I. 116. 34-35.
6. WD; AD; MD.
7. V Ind, II. p. 187.
8. Pāṇ, V.1. 7; IP. 206; ITP, p.94; Arth, 2. 12. p.83; Vā, 8. 150; CHVP, p. 113; Brs, 8. 30.
9. N. I. 17. 75; 28. 37.
10. SBE, 26. 213; 41. 40 fn; CHVP. p. 237; PSAH. p. 181

Nārada gives a three-fold division of the animals, as Svedaja (born on moisture and heat), Aṇḍaja (born of ovum) and Jarāyuja (born from the uterus or rather placentalia, i. e. viviparous). This classification agrees with that of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, but the Jīvaja and Udbhijja are termed by Nārada as Jarāyuja and Svedaja respectively. In another context, Nārada gives a four-fold classification, as Paśu, Pakṣī, Kīṭa and Sarīṣpa.¹ While describing the Vedāṅga-kalpa, Nārada divides the quadrupeds into two as Dviśapha (double hoofed) and Ekaśapha (single hoofed).² Animals are not classified as domestic and wild, but the following are enumerated as wild, viz., Mṛga, Varāha, Mahiṣa, Śārdūla and Vanagaja.³

Animals are referred to in this Purāṇa generally in connection with the ritual and witchcraft practices. Some of them are mentioned in other contexts also.

Nārada prohibits killing certain animals and birds such as Maṇḍuka (frog), Nakula (mongoose), Kāka (crow), etc.⁴ and provides expiations therefore. This shows that birds and animals were looked upon with veneration in the Purāṇic age.

The following is an alphabetical list of the animals and birds mentioned in the Nāradiya Purāṇa.

1. Aja

Goat The Ṛgveda and later literature mention aja, which is also known by the terms chāga, chagala, basta, meṣa, etc.⁵ Pāṇini and the Purāṇas like Vāyu and Kūrma refer to it. Varāhamihira also mentions it⁶. It is said to be the vehicle of Agni and Bhauma (Mars). It is given as gift. Its skin is used by Vaiśyas at the time of the sacred thread ceremony. Its flesh is used for homa.⁷

2. Ākhu

Rat or mouse. It is called by the terms mūṣika and mūṣaka⁸. It is known to the *Ṛgveda* and is mentioned in the later saṃhitās.

1. N, I. 43. 124; 63. 92-93; II. 45 49.

2. N, I. 51. 142.

3. N, I. 43. 120.

4. N, I. 30. 74-80.

5. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 12; N, I. 56. 687; 51.87.

6. Paṇ, IV. 1.4; IP, p. 220; Vā, 9.43; CHVP, p. 114; K, I. 7.55; Brs, 68.104.

7. N, I. 56. 687; 69.112; 51.87; 25.18; 87.22.

8. AD; MD; N, I. 76.98; 14.63; 27.10.

The *Arthaśāstra* and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* mention Mūṣika, and the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, Mūṣaka¹. Though this animal is said to be poisonous, killing it is considered sinful².

3 Aśva

A horse. The Vedic literature mentions it. *Paṇinīya Sūtra* terms Aśva-vāḍava, a horse and mare, together in the masculine gender. The *Arthaśāstra* refers to Aśva. The horse is referred to as a domesticated animal in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*³. According to Nārada, it seems that it was used as a vehicle, for giving gift and also in war. Considered as the vehicle of Kubera and Vidhu it is also known by the names Sapti, Haya, Vāji and Turaṅga⁴.

4. Baka

The Indian crane. It is referred to in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as the progeny of Śyenī, wife of Aruṇa. It is also mentioned in the *Kūrma Purāṇa*⁵. Nārada refers to it by way of simile⁶.

5. Balāka

A crane. In the *Tajurveda Saṁhitā* it is included among the victims at the Aśvamedha⁷. Nārada considers its killing sinful⁸.

6. Bhramara

A bee. Cāṇakya makes a reference to it. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, it is the progeny of Pulaha⁹. According to Nārada, Bhramara is found in Bhṛgu's hermitage and on the Mandara hill. Bhṛṅga and Dvirepha also mean bee¹⁰.

1. V. Ind, I. p. 52; II. p. 170; Arth, 4.3. p. 207; Vā, 58.61; CHVP, p. 119; Brs, 48.16.
2. N, I. 77.83; 30.74
3. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 42; Pāṇ, II. 4.27; IP, p. 219; Arth, 2.29. p. 130; Vā, 9.46-47; CHVP, p. 115.
4. N, I. 9.11; 13.110; 10.9; 56.692; 67.84; 8.90, 24; 77.86.
5. AD; Vā, 69.326, 336; CHVP, p. 115; K, II. 33.33.
6. N, I. 1.49.
7. AD; MD; V. Ind, II. p. 61.
8. N, I. 30.79.
9. AD; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 294, p. 445; Vā, 70.64; CHVP, p. 115.
10. N, I. 16.4; II. 11.32; I. 72.6

7. Cakravāka

The ruddy goose or the cakra bird. It is mentioned in the *R̥gveda*. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* states it to be the progeny of Dhṛtarāṣṭrī, wife of Garuḍa.¹ According to Nārada, killing it is a sin².

8. Camarī

The female Camara, a variety of deer. The term Camara is found in the *Arthaśāstra*. According to Nārada, it is found in the hermitage of Bhṛgu³.

9. Cāṣa

The blue jay or the blue woodpecker. The *R̥gveda* and the *Yajurveda Samhitās* and the *Bṛhat Samhitā* refer to it⁴. Nārada prohibits its killing⁵.

10. Dvipin

The leopard or panther. It is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, *Arthaśāstra* and also in the *Nāradiya Purāṇa*⁶

11. Eṇa

A kind of black antelope. The later Samhitās refer to Eṇī, which denotes the female antelope. The *Arthaśāstra* makes a reference to Eṇa.⁷ According to Nārada, its skin is used by Brāhmaṇas during the sacred thread ceremony. Its flesh is used for Pitṛkarma. It is said that Lord Śiva holds it in his hand.⁸

12 Gaja

An elephant. The *R̥gveda* mentions Hastin. But the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda* know this animal as a familiar creature. The *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa* also mentions it.⁹ Pāṇini refers to the terms Hastin, Nāga and Kuñjara. Gaja is mentioned by Cāṇakya¹⁰ The elephant is known by terms like Vāraṇa and Hastin and it is used

1. AD; MD; V. Ind, I. p. 253; Vā, 69. 337-339; CHVP, p. 115.
2. N, I. 30. 78-80.
3. AD; Arth, 2.17. p. 100; N, I. 16. 4
4. AD; V. Ind, I p. 261; Brs. 36. 48
5. N, I. 30. 79-80
6. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 387; Arth. 2.17. p. 100; N, I. 77. 87.
7. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 120; Arth, 2.15. p. 97.
8. N, I. 25.17; 51. 138-139; 91.93.
9. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 501; I. p. 218; HSL-Mac, p. 148; CHVP, pp 117, 118, 239, 240.
10. Pāṇ, V. 2. 133; II. 1.62; IP, p. 218; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 57. p. 435,

in war and for giving as a gift. According to Nārada, the elephant is found on the banks of Narmadā and in the Saikata mountain. Its tusk is used in making the idol of Gaṇeśa.¹

13. Gardabha

An ass or donkey. While the *R̥gveda* refers to it as inferior to the horse, the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* mentions it as the best bearer of burdens among animals². Its skin is used in inscribing a yantra. Khara, Rāsabha, etc., are its synonyms³.

14. Gavaya

A species of ox. It is frequently referred to from the *R̥gveda* downwards, and is known to Kauṭilya⁴. Nārada mentions it in connection with the description of Kārtavīrya kavaca⁵.

15 Go

An ox or cow. The 'go' is the chief item of wealth of the Vedic Indians and is referred to from the *R̥gveda* onward. Pāṇini, Varāhamihira and others refer to this animal⁶. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, it is a domesticated animal, born from the belly of the creator, and a symbol of the Gāyatrī metre⁷.

Nārada condemns its killing, whereas serving it is considered meritorious. It is given as gift and is a source of the Vaiśya's livelihood. Vṛṣa or Vṛṣabha means an ox or bull, and it is said to be the vehicle of Gāyatrī and Śiva.⁸

16. Gomāyu

A jackal. It is also known by the various terms, Śivā, Sṛgāla, etc.⁹ Sṛgāla is not referred to till the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and Gomāyu till the late *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa*, but is frequently mentioned in the epics.¹⁰ Though it is an unholy animal, its flesh is used in homa.¹¹

1. N, II, 3.8; I. 10.9, 17; 13.111; 23.34, 12.90, 68.56.
2. AD, V. Ind, I. p. 221.
3. N, I. 15. 56; 73. 42; 56. 17; 77.86.
4. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 222; Arth, 2. 17. p. 100.
5. N, I. 77.86.
6. AD; V. Ind, I. pp. 231 ff; IP. pp. 222 ff; Brs, 4.14.
7. Vā, 9. 42-44; 23.69; CHVP, p. 116.
8. N, I. 14. 38; 5. 60, 75; 43. 58; 14. 58; 13. 93; 27. 44; 56. 693.
9. AD; N, I. 87. 25; 15. 17; 14. 24.
10. V. Ind, II. p. 468; I. p. 239.
11. N, I. 14. 24; 87. 25.

17. Gṛhagodhā or Gṛhagodhikā

The small house-lizard. Godhā is one of the Kṣudrajantus according to Patañjali. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* states that its flesh is used in Śrāddha.¹ Nārada mentions it as one of the poisonous creatures.²

18. Grāha

A crocodile or shark. In the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* this term means a disease.³ Nārada states that Lord Viṣṇu saved the king of elephants (Indradyumna) from the grip of a grāha.⁴

19. Gṛdhra

A vulture. It is referred to from the *Rgveda* onwards. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* states that the bhūtas have the faces of gṛdhras.⁵ The feather of this flesh-eating bird is used in homa.⁶

20. Haṁsa

A swan. Reference to haṁsa is found in the *Rgveda* and later literature. It was one of the victims at the horse sacrifice. Cāṇakya refers to it. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, haṁsa is the progeny of Dhṛtarāṣṭrī, wife of Garuḍa. Varāhamihira also mentions it.⁷ Known also by the term 'Marāla', it is considered as the vehicle of Vidhi and killing it is a sin.⁸

21. Jālapādaka

A goose. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* refers to it.⁹ Nārada says that killing it is a sin.¹⁰

22. Kacchapa

A tortoise. 'Kūrma' is its other name.¹¹ 'Kūrma', the tortoise, occurs frequently in later Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. Kūrma is referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira. According

1. AD; IP, p. 221; CHVP, p. 117.

2. N, I. 77-83; II, 14. 5

3. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 248

4. N, I. 2. 27

5. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 229; Arth, 14. 3. p. 418; Vā, 40. 21-22; CHVP, p. 117.

6. N, I. 40. 42; 74. 36.

7. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 497; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 501. p. 453; Vā, 69. 337-339; CHVP, pp. 117, 115; Brs, 12. 9.

8. N, I. 67-84; 80. 43; 30. 78 ff.

9. AD; MD; K, II. 34.14.

10. N, I. 30.79 ff.

11. AD; N, I. 30.79; 2.37.

to the *Vāyu* and *Kūrma Purāṇas*, its flesh is used in Śrāddha.¹ Kūrma is one of the incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu and is the vehicle of Pannagādhīpa. Killing it is a sin.²

23. Kāka

A crow. Vāyasa denotes a large bird in the *R̥gveda* and later *Samhitās*, and it is only in the *Ṣaḍvīmśa Brāhmaṇa* that the term is used to mean a crow. The *Cāṇakya Sūtra*, the *Vāyu* and *Kūrma Purāṇas* and *Bṛhat Samhitā* refer to Kāka.³ Its killing is forbidden. Its feather is used in homa.⁴

24. Kaṅka

A heron. The term appears first in the *Yajurveda Samhitā*. Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira refer to it.⁵ According to Nārada, its ashes are used in witchcraft.⁶

25. Kapi

The monkey. Plavaṅga, Vānara, etc., also mean the same.⁷ The term Kapi occurs in the *R̥gveda* only once, but several times in the *Atharvaveda*.⁸ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* makes a reference to Vānara (monkey). Nārada makes a reference to Vānara while narrating the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁹

26. Kapota

A dove or the pigeon, especially the spotty-necked. The bird is referred to from the *R̥gveda* downwards.¹⁰ The *Cāṇakya Sūtra*, *Vāyu* and *Kūrma Purāṇas*, and *Bṛhat Samhitā* mention it.¹¹ According to Nārada, it is found in Vṛndāvana. Killing it is forbidden.¹²

1. V. Ind, I. p. 178; Arth, 1.15. p. 29; Brs, 50.22; CHVP, p. 118; K, II. 17.34.
2. N, I. 2.37; 67.84; 44.26; 30.79ff.
3. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 287; Arth. *Cāṇakya Sūtra*, 497. p. 453; Vā, 69. 328-338; CHVP, pp. 117, 118; K, II. 17.27.
4. N, I. 30. 74; 74.36.
5. AD; MD; V. Ind, I. p. 132; Arth, 14.2. p. 418; Brs, 43.62.
6. N, I. 87. 166.
7. AD; N, I. 2.42; 9.48; 79.24.
8. V. Ind, I. p. 136; Vā, 69. 208; CHVP, p. 120.
9. N, I. 79. 24.
10. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 137.
11. Arth, *Cāṇakya Sūtra*, 348. p. 447; Brs; Vā, 69. 328-338; CHVP, pp. 116, 118; K, II. 17.32; Brs; 28.11.
12. N, I. 80.43; 30.79.

27. Kāraṇḍava

A sort of duck. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, it (Kāraṇḍa) is found on the Devakūṭa mountain. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* and *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* refer to it.¹ Nārada prohibits its killing.²

28. Kāṣṭhila

It may be the Kāṣṭhakīṭa, a small insect. It is found in the decayed wood as referred to by Nārada.³

29. Kauśika

An owl. It is referred to by Varāhamihira.⁴ According to Nārada, its feather is used for homa.⁵

30. Keki

A peacock. It is called Mayūra also. Mayūra occurs in the *Rgveda*. The peacock is included among the victims at the horse sacrifice in the *Yajurveda Saṃhitās*.⁶ Pāṇini and Cāṇakya refer to Mayūra.⁷ According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Mayūra is the vehicle of Kārtikeya.⁸ Nārada mentions that Lord Kṛṣṇa wears its feather on his head and it is found in the hermitage of Bhṛgu.⁹

31. Kira

A parrot. It is also known as Śuka. Śuka, the parrot, is mentioned in the *Rgveda* and it was one of the victims at the horse sacrifice according to the *Yajurveda*.¹⁰ Kauṭilya, *Vāyu* and *Kūrma Purāṇas* and *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* refer to Śuka.¹¹ According to Nārada, it is found in Vṇḍāvana. Killing it is considered to be a sin.¹²

32. Kokila

The (Indian) cuckoo. It occurs in the Vedic literature as the name of a Rājaputra in the *Kāṭhaka Anukramaṇī*. It is mentioned

1. AD; MD; Vā, 41.70; CHVP, p. 118; K, I. 49.56; Brs, 12.12.
2. N, I. 30. 78 ff.
3. AD; N, II. 27.45.
4. AD; Brs, 48.4.
5. N, I. 74. 36-37.
6. AD; V, Ind. II. p. 134.
7. Pāṇ, II. 1.72; IP, p. 221; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 348. p. 447.
8. Vā, 54. 19-21; CHVP, p. 119.
9. N, I. 80.48; 16.5.
10. AD; N, I. 80.43; 30.79; V. Ind, II. p. 384.
11. Arth, I.15. p. 26; Vā, 36.1-5; CHVP, pp. 115, 120; K, II. 34.14; Brs, 11. 11.
12. N, I. 80.43; 30.79 ff.

in the epics and later literature¹. It is referred to by Cāṇakya and in the *Vāyu* and the *Kūrma Purāṇas* and in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*². According to Nārada, it is found in the Himācala. During the spring season Kokilā sounds Pañcama. It is called parabhr̥t. Its feather is used in homa³.

33. Kṛmi

A worm, gets special mention in the later Saṁhitās. Cāṇakya refers to it⁴. According to Nārada, it is found in the hells⁵.

34. Kṛṣṇasāra or Kṛṣṇamṛga

The black antelope or the spotted antelope. It is referred to in the Vedic literature and also by Kālidāsa⁷. According to Nārada it is found in Bhṛgu's hermitage. It is the vehicle of Vāyu⁷.

35. Kukkuṭa (ka)

A cock. The *Tajurveda*, Pāṇini and Kauṭilya mention it⁸. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Kukkuṭa is the progeny of Bhāsī, wife of Garuḍa and is forbidden in Śrāddha⁹. Killing it is considered to be a sin by Nārada¹⁰.

36. Lāvaka

The bird quail. Nārada describes it as digging a pit with its beak in the Saikata mountain.¹¹

37. Lūtā

A spider is referred to by Varāhamihira and is described as poisonous by Nārada.¹²

38. Mahiṣa

The Buffalo. The *R̥gveda* and later Saṁhitās and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya refer to it.¹³ According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, it

1. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 189.
2. Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 446. p. 451; Vā, 36.1-5; CHVP, pp. 115, 118; K, II. 17.31; Brs, 47.28.
3. N, I. 91. 136; 50. 62; 80. 43; 87. 28.
4. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 179; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 567. p. 456.
5. N, I. 15. 8.
6. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 183; Śākuntala, Aṅka, I. verse, 6.
7. N, I. 16. 3; 56. 692.
8. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 160; Pāṇ. IV. 4. 46; IP. p. 221; Arth. 4. 11. p. 226.
9. Vā, 69. 328-338; 78. 38-40; CHVP, pp. 116. 118.
10. N, I. 30. 74 ff.
11. AD; N, I. 12. 86-87.
12. AD; Brs, 46.79; N, I. 71.79.
13. AD; V. Ind. II. p. 144; Arth, 2.6. p. 60.

is the progeny of Mṛgamadā, wife of Pulaha. Varāhamihira also mentions Mahiṣa¹ According to Nārada, it is given as gift, its flesh is used in offering ball, milk for witchcraft and blood for Kālī tarpaṇa. It is the vehicle of Yama.²

39. Makara

A crocodile or a shark. It is included in the list of victims at the Aśvamedha sacrifice in the *Tajurveda Samhitās*.³ According to Nārada, it is the best among the fish.⁴

40. Makṣikā

A fly or bee. The *Rgveda* and later *Samhitās* denote both fly and bee by the terms Makṣā and Makṣikā.⁵ Nārada refers to it in connection with Prāyaścitta.⁶

41. Maṇḍuka

A frog. It is mentioned in the *Rgveda* and later Vedic texts.⁷ In the *Rgveda* there is an important Sūkta known as Maṇḍuka Sūkta.⁸ Mandūka is an aquatic animal, and killing it is forbidden. It is used in witchcraft.⁹

42. Mārjāra

A cat. It is referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira.¹⁰ Killing it is a sin; but its flesh is used in offering bali¹¹

43. Maśaka

The biting fly or mosquito. It is referred to in the *Atharvaveda*.¹² The *Gṛhya Sūtras* have a mantra meant for the destruction of maśakas.¹³ The *Kūrma* and *Nāradya Purāṇas* refer to it.¹⁴

1. Vā, 69. 207; CHVP, pp. 118-119; Brs, 3.35.

2. N, I. 13.112; 87.27; 85.31; 56.688.

3. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 115.

4. N, II. 52.22.

5. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 115.

6. N, I. 14.58.

7. AD; V. Ind, II. pp. 120-121.

8. RV, VII. 103.

9. N, II. 43. 56; I. 30. 74 ff; 86.112.

10. AD; Arth, 1.20. p. 40; Brs, 28.5.

11. N, I. 30.74 ff; 85.27.

12. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 138.

13. SRL, p. 123.

14. K, II. 11.49; N, I. 124. 58.

44. Matsya

A fish. The *R̥gveda*, Pāṇini and Cāṇakya mention it.¹ According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, its flesh is used in Śrāddha. The *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* also refers to Matsya.² In the Kali age people are said to live on fish. It lives in water and is used for Pitṛkarma and worship. It is also called Mina.³

45. Mṛga

A wild beast or a deer. In the *R̥gveda* and later literature it is generally used in the sense of a wild beast⁴. Pāṇini uses this word in both senses. Varāhamihira refers to it in the sense of a deer.⁵ In the *Nāradya* the word Mṛgarāja (the king of animals) means a wild animal, whereas the term Mṛgaśiṣu means a deer. It is said to be the vehicle of Pavana.⁶

46. Nāga

Nāga means either a snake in general, particularly the cobra, or an elephant. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the word Mahānāga means a big snake or a big elephant. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* this word connotes an elephant.⁷ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* refers to Nāgas.⁸ Nārada uses this word in both senses. The people offer sacrifice to Nāgas (snakes) on the 5th day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa. Some of the warriors made Nāgas (elephants) to fight with Nāgas (elephants).⁹

47. Nukula

The mongoose. It is mentioned in the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and the *Atharvaveda*.¹⁰ Patañjali includes it under Kṣudrajaṇtus.¹¹ Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira refer to it.¹² Killing it is forbidden.¹³

1. Ad; V, Ind, II. p. 121; Pāṇ, IV. 4.35; IP, p. 222; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 186. p. 440.
2. CHVP, p. 119; Brs, 21.31.
3. N, I. 11.53; 41.40; 45.83; 51.138; 90.28; 37.38.
4. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 171.
5. Pāṇ, IV. 3.51; II. 4.12; IP, p. 221; Brs, 51.34.
6. N, I. 10.12; 9.53; 67.84.
7. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 440.
8. CHVP, p. 119.
9. N, I. 114.59; 10.21.
10. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 408.
11. PSAH, p. 178.
12. Arth, 1.20. p. 40; Brs, 97.12.
13. N, I. 30. 74. ff.

48. Pannaga

A serpent. It occurs once in the *Ṛgveda*, but serpent is usually known by the word *Ahi* in the *Ṛgveda*.¹ Terms like *Sarpa*, *Nāga*, *Uraga*, etc.² also mean serpent (cf. also under *Nāga*). *Patañjali* includes *Ahi* among *Kṣudrajañtus*.³ The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* refers to *Pannaga*.⁴ It is a poisonous animal and periodically leaves its old skin. It is said to exist in *Pātāla* and the hells.⁵ Cf. *Nāga*, No. 46.

49. Pipīlikā

The female ant. The *Atharvaveda* and later Vedic literature refer to it.⁶ This slow moving animal is said to be found in the hells.⁷

50. Ruru

A kind of deer. *Ruru* is included among the victims at horse sacrifice by the *Yajurveda Saṁhitās*.⁸ The *Vāyu* and the *Kūrma Purāṇas* refer to it.⁹ This animal has a special nature of losing its horns and rearing new ones. Its skin is used by *Kṣatriyas* during their sacred-thread ceremony and its flesh for *Pitṛkarma*.¹⁰

51. Śarabha

It is a wild animal referred to in the *Ṛgveda* and later Vedic texts. According to the classical literature, it is a fabulous animal said to have eight legs and to be stronger than a lion.¹¹ *Śarabha* is said to be born of the creator's feet according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.¹² It is referred to by *Nārada*.¹³

52. Sāraṅga

A flamingo, a deer, a large crane, a cuckoo or a lion.¹⁴ It is said to be present in *Bṛghu's* hermitage. It is not clear whether *Nārada* refers to a bird or an animal by the term *Sāraṅga*.¹⁵

1. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 438.
2. N, I. 8. 107; 8. 45; 114. 59; 45. 82.
3. IP, pp. 221-222.
4. Brs, 15. 7.
5. N, I. 8. 107; 45. 82; 11. 189; 15. 12.
6. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 531.
7. N, I. 50. 222; 15. 16.
8. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 225.
9. Vā, 69. 206; CHVP, pp. 117, 119; K, II. 20. 40.
10. N, I. 45. 82; 25. 17; 51. 138.
11. V. Ind, II. p. 357; AD; MD.
12. Vā, 9. 42-44; CHVP, p. 119.
13. N, I. 77. 86.
14. AD; MD.
15. N, I. 16. 5.

53. Sārasa

The (Indian) crane or a swan. Sārasa is referred to in the *Arthaśāstra*, *Vāyu Purāṇa* and *Bṛhat Samhitā*.¹ According to Nārada, killing it is a sin.²

54. Śārdūla

A tiger, leopard or a panther. The later Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas³, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and *Bṛhat Samhitā* refer to it.⁴ Often it occurs in compounds like Muniśārdūla, Nṛpatiśārdūla, etc., in the *Nāradiya*. It is said to be found at Śālagrāma near the Cakra river.⁵

55. Śaśa (ka)

The rabbit. Śaśa is referred to once in the *Rgveda*⁶ and in the *Vāyu* and the *Kūrma Purāṇas* and in the *Bṛhat Samhitā*.⁷ Its flesh is used for Pitṛkarma⁸.

56. Simha

A lion. References to it are found in the *Rgveda* onwards.⁹ Pāṇini refers to it as one of the carnivorous animals. The *Cāṇakya-sūtra*, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Bṛhat Samhitā* mention it.¹⁰ In the *Nāradiya*, Simha is the vehicle of the 13th of Rādhā's Nityās. It is said to be found in Śālagrāma on the bank of Cakra river.¹¹

57. Siśumāra

The porpoise or the dolphin. It is called also as Śimsumāra and is referred to in the *Rgveda* and the later Samhitās¹². According to Nārada, killing it is a sin¹³.

1. AD; Arth, 2. 26. p. 122; Vā, 69. 326; CHVP, pp. 115, 119; Brs, 26. 7.
2. N, I. 30. 79 ff.
3. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 375.
4. CHVP, p. 119; Brs, 12. 7.
5. N, I, 7. 2; 9. 55; 48. 22.
6. AD; V. Ind. II. p. 367.
7. Vā, 69. 206; CHVP, pp. 117, 119; K, II. 17. 34; Brs, 51. 34.
8. N, I. 51. 138.
9. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 448.
10. Pāṇ, VI. 2. 72; IP, p. 221; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 164. p. 440; CHVP, p. 119; Brs. 56. 28.
11. N, I. 88. 191; 48. 16.
12. AD; MD; V. Ind, II. p. 377.
13. N, I. 30. 79. ff.

58. Śvā

The Dog. It is called Śunaka also¹. 'Śvan', the dog, is referred to in the *Rgveda* and later Vedic texts. The dog is described as a carnivorous and domestic animal by Pāṇini.² Cāṇakya refers to it³. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, it is a taboo in Śrāddha⁴. It is mentioned in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. Though it is an unholy animal killing it is forbidden⁵.

59. Śyena

A hawk, falcon or an eagle. It is the swiftest and the strongest of birds. It is referred to in the *Rgveda* and later Vedic texts⁶. Pāṇini and Kauṭilya and *Kūrma Purāṇa* and *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* mention it⁷. The *Nārada Purāṇa* refers to it in connection with the description of Kārtavīrya kavaca. Śyenī, the feminine form of the Śyena, also is mentioned here⁸.

60. Timi

A kind of whale or fish of an enormous size⁹. It is known as the Vehicle of Varuṇa⁹.

61. Tiṭṭibha

A kind of bird, the bird *Parrajacana*. Killing it is forbidden¹⁰.

62. Ulūka

An owl. Ulūka is mentioned from the *Rgveda* onwards and it is one of the victims offered in the horse sacrifice according to the *Yajurveda Saṃhitās*¹¹. Kauṭilya refers to it. The *Vāyu* and *Kūrma Purāṇas* and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* mention it¹². Its killing is prohibited¹³.

1. AD; N, I. 14. 12; 77. 87.

2. V. Ind, II. p. 405; Pāṇ, V. 4.11; IP, p. 221; Arth, Cāṇakya Sūtra, 347 p. 447.

3. Vā, 78. 38-40; CHVP, p. 120.

4. Brs, 51-18; N, I. 14. 12; 30. 74 ff.

5. AD; MD; V. Ind, II. p. 401.

6. Pāṇ, VI. 3. 71; IP, p. 221; Arth, 13. 4. p. 404; K, II. 17. 31; Brs, 79. 24.

7. N, I. 77. 87; II. 23. 11.

8. AD; MD.

9. N, I. 67. 84.

10. AD; MD; N, I. 30. 78 ff.

11. V. Ind, I. p. 102.

12. Arth, 13. 4. p. 404; Vā, 69. 328-338; CHVP, pp. 116, 120; K, II. 17. 32; 34. 14; Brs, 70. 22.

13. N, I. 30. 79 ff.

63. Uṣṭra

Camel. In the *R̥gveda* and *Atharvaveda* this animal is mentioned as a beast of burden yoked in fours¹. Pāṇini, Kauṭilya Varāhamihira refer to it.² It is supposed to be born of the creator's feet. Its milk is taboo in Śrāddha.³ A vehicle yoked by a camel is prohibited to a Brāhmaṇa. Its flesh is offered in bali⁴

64. Varāha

Boar. It is referred to in the *R̥gveda* and later Saṁhitās.⁵ Kauṭilya refers to it.⁶ According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, its flesh is used in Śrāddha. Varāha is referred to by Varāhamihira.⁷ Killing it is considered a sin by Nārada. According to Nārada, it is found in the Saikata mountain and in Bhṛgu's hermitage. Varāha is one of the incarnation of Viṣṇu.⁸

65. Vṛka

A wolf. It is frequently referred to in the *R̥gveda* and later Vedic texts.⁹ Pāṇini describes Vṛka as a carnivorous animal. It is also referred to by Kauṭilya.¹⁰ In the *Nāradiya* it is said to be found near the Cakra river.¹¹

66. Vṛścika

A scorpion. It is referred to by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira¹² It is mentioned as a poisonous creature and is said to be found in the hells. A particular type of scorpion with red tail is also referred to by Nārada.¹³

67. Vyāghra

Tiger. Though it is not found in the *R̥gveda*, it is frequently referred to in the *Atharvaveda*.¹⁴ Pāṇini mentions it as a carnivorous

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1. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 104.
 2. Pāṇ, IV. 3. 157; IP, p. 219; Arth, 2.4. p. 55; Brs, 24.21.
 3. Vā, 9.42-44; 78.17; CHVP, p. 120.
 4. N, I. 26.25; 85.27.
 5. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 245.
 6. Arth, 2.29, p. 130.
 7. CHVP, p. 120; Brs, 28.14.
 8. N, I. 30.74; 12.87; 16.4; 2.38.
 9. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 318.
 10. Pāṇ, V. 4.41; IP. p. 221; Arth, 14.3. p. 418.
 11. N, I. 48.25.
 12. AD; Arth, 14.3. p. 424; Brs, 50.3.
 13. N, I. 71.79; 15.16; 77.80.
 14. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 337.

animal. Kauṭilya mentions it.¹ The garments of tiger-skin are referred to in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. It is referred to by Varāhamihira.² According to Nārada, Vyāghra is the vehicle of Śakti. It is said to be found near the Cakra river and also in the hells. Its feminine form Vyāghrī also is referred to by Nārada.³ Cf. Śārdūla, No. 54.

68. Vyāla

A snake or a tiger. Kauṭilya, Varāhamihira⁴ and Nārada refer to it.⁵

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1. Pāṇ, II. 1.56; IP, p. 221; Arth, 2.27. p. 100.
 2. CHVP, p. 120; Brs, 48.44.
 3. N, I. 88.192; 48.25, 15.17; 9.13.
 4. AD; MD; Arth, 1.12, p. 20; Brs, 6.3.
 5. N, II. 47.84.

APPENDIX III

FOOD AND DRINKS

The Indus Valley Civilization shows that people in the pre-Vedic period were capable of producing food on a large scale. Even though we have only a little information regarding the methods of agriculture acquired by the people, the examination of the specimens of wheat and barley found in the ruins at Mohenjodaro shows that they were not of the wild species. Similar type of wheat is produced in the Punjab even today. Further, milk also was an important item of food during that period. Besides vegetables, other fruits and date were included in the dietary. Harappa cultivated peas and sesamums. Among the non-vegetarian articles of food the beef, mutton pork, poultry, the flesh of the gharial, turtle and tortoise, fresh river fish and dried fish from the sea, and also shell-fish were used by those people.¹

Irā, and Māsara, the intoxicating drinks, were consumed by Dravidians. The references to Tila and Piṇyāka show that the people extracted oil and used it in cooking.²

Milk and its various products and Yava among food-grains occupied a very prominent place in the food habits of the R̥gvedic period.³ Food-grains are generally referred to by the words Yava and Dhānya in the *R̥gveda*.⁴

Meat was a very popular item of food. The flesh of the ox, sheep, goat, etc., seem to have been commonly used.⁵

Soma, an intoxicating drink, is referred to in the *R̥gveda* as used in rituals. Another drink, Surā, is mentioned as a common drink.⁶

A large variety of food-grains like Priyaṅgu, Godhūma, Tila etc., is found in the later Vedic literature. Rice was also popular.

1. VA, pp. 173-174.

2. FD, p. 3.

3. SRL. (1st edition) p. 116; SRL (Reset edition), p. 95; CHI, I. pp. 99-101.

4. CHVP, p. 211.

5. FD, pp. 15-16; SRL, (1st edition) p. 116; SRL (Reset edition), p. 95.

6. RV, IX. 12.7, VIII. 2.12; FD, pp. 22, 25.

The use of fish can be inferred from the *Yajurveda*. But the practice of meat-eating is censured for the first time in the *Brāhmaṇas*.¹ A further development of this prohibition is seen in the *Upaniṣads* when meat-eating is considered to be a sin. In the period of the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, Soma lost its popularity and wine began to gain popularity. Rice occupied a more important place among the food-grains. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* classifies the food stuffs as *bhojya* (to be eaten), *bhakṣya* (fit for food), and *miśrīkaraṇa* (mixture), *vyañjana* (sauce) and *upasikta* (watery) and *saṃskṛta* (refined).²

Buddhist and Jaina works refer to several kinds of food and drinks. Eighteen kinds of solid food are referred to in the *Jātakas* and 18 kinds of seasoned food in the Jaina works. Besides, we have a classified list of food stuffs in those works : (1) soft-food, (2) hard-food, (3) beverages and (4) relishable food.³ The *Jātakas* refer to Sugar-cane, its juice and sugar, and also even manufacturing industries connected with food-grains.⁴

The *Vinaya Piṭaka* mentions five varieties of salts as sea salt, black salt, rock salt, kitchen salt and red salt and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya mentions six.⁵ The salt manufacturers also are referred to in the *Jātakas*. Regarding milk, we have various products minutely distinguished from each other like clarified butter, solidified ghee, etc., from the time of *Gṛhya Sūtra* downwards.⁶ Kauṭilya describes different types of liquor for drinks.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, food is divided into four classes as *bhakṣya* (hard), *bhojya* (soft), *coṣya* (to be sucked) and *lehya* (to be licked⁷). Meat-eating was prevalent in the period of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; but the *Mahābhārata* contains contradictory statements regarding eating of meat. In the period of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Maireya* seems to have been the most popular drink, *Vāruṇī* being only next to it. Besides, various kinds of *Āsavas* (drinks) also are referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁸

1. SRL (1st edition), p. 117; FD, p. 16; CHVP, p. 211.
2. SRL (1st edition), pp. 118, 124; SRL (Reset edition) p. 96; FD, p. 57; IP, pp. 99-102.
3. FD, pp. 77, 58.
4. CHVP, pp. 211-212.
5. PD, pp. 69, 92.
6. CHI, I, pp. 214-215; CHVP, p. 211; SRL (1st edition), p. 119; SRL (Reset edition), pp. 97-98.
7. Rām, Ayodhyā, 91.20; FD, p. 102.
8. FD, pp. 106 ff; 109, 118.

FOOD AND DRINKS

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Medical works of Caraka, Suśruta, Kaśyapa and others describe many kinds of food-stuffs and the methods of preparing them. They also deal with the scientific value of these food-stuffs. For example, Caraka, Bhela and Kaśyapa recommend milk as the most nourishing food and all the medical works prescribe a limited use of wine as very good for health, especially in the winter season. Similarly meat is considered to be a very nourishing food by Caraka.¹

During the classical age, the subject of food and drink was so highly developed as to include the art of cooking among the sixty-four fine arts.

Regarding food and drinks, the *Nārada Purāṇa* shows a well-developed stage. In this work, we find reference to some kinds of food preparations like Pūrikā (modern pūri), Roṭikā, Laḍḍuka, etc., similar to same modern preparations². Of course, these are not referred to as the food of the common people, but as the articles used in worship. Various types of food-grains are also mentioned in the *Nāradiya*. The references to rice made in this work show that rice was popular. Milk and its various by-products also are often mentioned.

Regarding the use of non-vegetarian food, there is reference to Māmsa as an item of food, as used in worship and in giving as gift³. Though Māmsa (flesh) is prohibited only to Brāhmaṇas and Brahmacārins, eating flesh is considered to be a sin (whoever may be the eater)⁴.

Among the drinks, Madya, Surā and some Āsavas are mentioned. Surā is classified into eleven categories⁵. The preparation of two kinds of Āsavas, viz; Gauḍi and Paiṣṭi, and that of Madhu, the product of trees and fruits, is also described⁶. The use of intoxicating drink is prescribed in almost all the cases of worship. Nārada objects to the use of liquor, and includes drinking liquor among the five greatest sins⁷. On one occasion, food is classified

1. FD, pp. 135-138, 151, 141.
2. N, I. 51. 73; 75.84; II. 50. 21.
3. N, I. 90. 28; 51. 85.
4. N, I. 24. 14; 25.30; 20.32, etc.
5. N, I. 30. 30-31; Cf. also Surā, No. 18.
6. N, I. 90. 11 ff.
7. N, I. 15. 22, etc., 30. 5.

as bhakṣya (fit for food), bhojya (to be eaten), peya (drinkable), lehya (to be licked), and cośya (to be sucked), but elsewhere it is classified as bhakṣya, bhojya, lehya, and svādyā (to be tasted¹).

The following is an alphabetical list of articles of food and drinks.

1. Anna

Boiled rice or the food in general. During the pre-Vedic period rice was an important item of food. It is referred to in the *Ṛgveda* and later literature.² The *Sūtra* of Pāṇini, *Jātakas* and *Arthaśāstra* regard Anna as meaning food in general. In the *Kaśikā* boiled rice is known by the word Bhakta.³ According to Nārada, Anna is used in gift, tarpaṇa, naivedya and homa. Eating rice is forbidden on Ekādaśī days and in Vṛddhi Śrāddha.⁴

2. Apūpa

A small round cake of flour. The cake prepared in ghee is made of rice or of barley, and is a popular item of food from the *Ṛgveda* onwards.⁵ Pāṇini and Patañjali refer to it.⁶ Nārada refers to its use for eating, gift, worship and homa.⁷

2. Dadhi

The coagulated milk, or the sour milk. It seems to have been popular during the period of *Ṛgveda* and later Vedic texts.⁸ Its use in Śrāddha is mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. It is also used as a medicine taken by yogins to get relief from gastric trouble.⁹ Nārada refers to its use in worship, gift, homa, naivedya, the kāmya rites and tarpaṇa and also for preparing madhuparka.¹⁰

4. Dugdha

The milk. It seems that milk was an important item of food during the pre-Vedic period. It is known by different names like Go, Payas and Kṣīra, and is considered as very essential in the

1. N, I. 43. 117; 28. 56.
2. AD; VA, p 174.
3. Pāṇ, III. 2. 68, etc., IP, p. 101.
4. N, I. 20. 10; 27. 74; 67. 72ff; 68. 40; 23, 8 9; 25. 6.
5. AD; V. Ind, I p 26
6. Pāṇ, V. 1.4; IP, p. 108; Pat, 1.2.45 p. 217; L. 13; ITP, pp 96-97.
7. N, I. 49.44; 17.55; 51.73; 68 77.
8. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 338.
9. Vā, 80. 42-44; 11. 41-42; CHVP, p. 92.
10. N, I. 13. 96; 71.84 ff; 90.85; 80, 12/; 67.28.

economy of the Vedic Indians¹. According to Pāṇini, it is an important article of food. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, milk is recommended as a food for yogins.² Nārada describes its use in worship and homa.³

5. Ghṛta

The clarified butter or ghee. It is also known as Sarpis.⁴ It is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* and later Vedic texts as an article for ordinary use and for sacrifice.⁵ According to Pāṇini, Haiyaṅga-vīna (ghee) is an essential item of food. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, vessels filled with butter are good gift in Śrāddha.⁶ Nārada mentions its use in gift, naivedya, for lighting purpose, in homa and Śrāddha and also as a medicine.⁷

6. Guḍa

The molasses. As a universal product of sugarcane juice, this is known from the period of Pāṇini downwards.⁸ According to Nārada, it is used in worship and in the preparation of Surā.⁹

7. Ladduka

A kind of sweetmeat. It is offered to Gaṇeśa as naivedya.¹⁰

8. Lāja

The parched grain or watted grain. The later Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas refer to it.¹¹ According to Nārada, Lāja is used in homa, naivedya, in the kāmya rites and in tarpaṇa.¹²

9. Madhu

The honey. "Madhu, though often used to denote "Soma" or milk or any sweet food or drink, has also the sense of "honey" in the *Ṛgveda*". However, in the later literature its meaning is honey.¹³ It is considered as a food even by the *Ṛgvedic* Aryans.

1. AD; VA, p. 174; V. Ind; I. p. 208.

2. IP, p. 111; Vā, 16.13; CHVP, p. 92.

3. N, I. 13.92; 90.131.

4. AD; N, I. 21. 21; 14.6.

5. V. Ind, I. p. 250.

6. Pāṇ, V. 2.23; IP, p. 111; Vā, 80.28, CHVP, p. 92.

7. N, I. 21.21; 90.85; 67.72; 17.31; 28.46; 61.60.

8. AD; IP, p. 109.

9. N, I. 75. 66; 30.23.

10. AD; N, II. 50. 21.

11. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 231.

12. N, I. 68.20; 90.85 ff; 80.128.

13. AD; VA, p. 393; V. Ind, II. pp. 123-124; RC, p. 206; CHVP, p. 213.

The honey prepared by the common bee is referred to as Kṣaudra by Pāṇini.¹ According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Madhu as a gift is used in Śrāddha, but its use is prohibited to Yatis and Bhikṣus.² In the *Nāradiya*, it is used in worship, gift, homa and Śrāddha. Further, it is forbidden to a Brahmācārī. On Daśamī day it is forbidden to a Vaiṣṇava.³

10. Madya

A spirituous liquor or intoxicating drink. According to Om Prakash, during the period of Pre-Historic Civilisation two intoxicating drinks, viz., Irā and Māsara seem to have been used. The Vedic literature up to the period of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* does not make a reference to Madya. Pāṇini mentions Madya.⁴ Nārada says that sons of Sagara were in the habit of drinking Madya. Its category known as Āsava was used in worship.⁵ Cf. Surā, No. 18.

11. Māṁsa

The flesh or meat. It appears as a common item of food during the pre-Vedic period as well as in the Vedic period.⁶ In the Brāhmaṇic period it was prohibited, and in the Upaniṣad period eating of flesh was considered as one of the heinous sins. But it was used in sacrifices and was essential in Śrāddha. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions its use in Śrāddha. It is forbidden to the Yogins.⁷ Nārada mentions its use in worship, Śrāddha and gift. At the same time it is not only prohibited to Brāhmaṇas in the Kali age and to Brahmācārīs in general, but is also considered to be a sin.⁸

12. Modaka

A sweetmeat or a sweet ball. It is especially liked by children according to Patañjali.⁹ It is offered especially to Gaṇeśa and is

1. Pāṇ, IV. 3.118; IP, p. 110.
2. Vā, 80.51; 18.20-21; CHVP, p. 93.
3. N, I. 13.49, 96; 17.46; 28.62; 25.30; 120.87.
4. AD; PD, p. 3, V. Ind, II. p. 123; Pāṇ, III. 1.100; IP, p. 116.
5. N, I. 8. 74-77; 90.28.
6. PD, p. 2; VA, p. 177; V. Ind, II. p. 145.
7. HSL-Mac, p. 164; RC, p. 205; SRL (1st edition) pp. 117-118, 122; SRL (Reset edition), pp. 96, 100; Vā, 78.5; 81.3; CHVP, pp. 94, 214.
8. N, I. 90. 28; 51.72, etc., 28.62; 51.85; 24.14 ff; 25.30; 20.32.
9. AD; Pat, V. 1. 119 p. 366; L. 9; ITP, p. 97.

used for homa, gift and in the kāmya rites and tarpaṇa. Upamodaka also is referred to by Nārada.¹

13. Pāyasa

The porridge. It is a preparation of rice boiled in milk or with ghee and Śarkarā (sugar). It is used in naivedya, homa, gift and in the kāmya acts and tarpaṇa.²

14. Pṛthuka

The rice parched and flattened. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, in Śrāddha prescribes a gift of pṛthuka, in the preparation of which sugar and milk were used.³ Nārada makes its use in sacrifice, naivedya and in kāmya acts and tarpaṇa.⁴

15. Pūrikā

A kind of cake. It is offered as naivedya to Lord Kṛṣṇa, Śiva and Pārvatī⁵.

16. Roṭikā

A preparation of food with Māṣā, Kṣāra and Tila taila (til oil). It is offered to Hari (Hānumān)⁶.

17. Saktu

The flour of barley first fried and then ground. The *R̥gveda* refers to it once. The later Saṃhitās take this as barley meal⁷. Pāṇini mentions Udaka-Saktu (mixed with water), and Patañjali refers to Dadhi-Saktu (mixed with curd) as a seasoning ingredient.⁸ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* recommends it for Śrāddha⁹. According to Nārada, it is an eatable and is used for homa¹⁰.

18. Surā

The spirituous liquor. It is a drink often mentioned in the Vedic literature, and was popular among the *R̥gvedic Aryans*.¹¹

1. N, I. 113. 14; 68. 20, 52; 80.128; 115.19.
2. AD; N, I. 124. 50; 17.25; 54, 20; 80.127.
3. AD; Vā, 80.47; CHVP, p. 91.
4. N, I. 68.81; 90.86; 80.128.
5. AD; N, I. 117. 23; 51.73.
6. N, I. 75. 84.
7. AD; V. Ind, II. p. 415.
8. Pāṇ. I. 1. 57; 1.149; IP, p. 109.
9. Vā, 80.48; CHVP, p. 91.
10. N, I. 49.44; 68. 19ff.
11. V. Ind, II. p. 458; RC, p. 208ff; AD.

Nārada classifies Surā into eleven categories, viz., Tāla, Pānasa, Drākṣa, Khārjūra, Mādhuka, Śaila, Āriṣṭa, Maireya, Nālikera, Gauḍī and Mādhvī. Nārada prohibits drinking liquor. He considers drinking liquor to be one of the five vilest sins.¹ Cf. Madya, No. 10.

19. Taila

The sesamum oil. In the *Atharvaveda* it is referred to and its extraction from Tila also was known to the people of the Brāhmaṇic period.² According to Nārada, it is used in bathing Lord Viṣṇu or Śiva, lighting and drinking as a medicine.³

20. Vaṭaka

A kind of cake. According to Om Prakash, during the period of Pre-Historic Civilization round cakes (Vaṭakas) were prepared by frying in oil or butter. According to Nārada, it is prepared of Māṣa and is used as naivedya.⁴

21. Yāvaka

The food prepared from barley. It is mentioned as a variety of rice by Pāṇini and Caraka.⁵ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* refers to it as a food recommended for Yogins.⁶ According to Nārada, Gomūtra is used in it and it is taken for 15 days to expiate the sin of absorbing Caṇḍāla's Anna unknowingly.⁷

1. N, I. 30. 30-31; 30. 5.

2. AD; V. Ind, I. p. 328; SRL (1st edition), p. 117; SRL (Reset edition), p. 96; CHVP, p. 211.

3. N, I. 13. 55. 64; 14. 47.

4. AD; PD, p. 2; N, I. 121. 31; 74. 45.

5. AD; Pān, V. 2. 3; IP, p. 105.

6. Vā, 16. 13; CHVP, p. 91.

7. N, I. 14. 25.

APPENDIX IV

MUSIC AND DANCE

In the R̥gvedic period much importance was attached to song especially in connection with rituals. The *Sāmaveda* is the best evidence for the great antiquity of music.¹ In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the Apsaras, who are the female associates of the Gandharvas, are referred to as engaged in dance, song and play. In the *Jātakas*, the association of Gandharvas with music becomes an established fact, and the art of music is called 'Gāndharva Veda' which is included among the 18 subjects of study.² In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini vocalists and instrumentalists are referred to. In the same work, there is also a reference to the orchestral bands inclusive of singers to the accompaniment of Viṇā, the most popular musical instrument in ancient India. Music was regarded as an art in the time of Pāṇini. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* also mentions music and musicians.³ Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and the classical literature also mark a progressive development of the field of music and dances. Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* includes music as an important Śāstra and gives a detailed treatment of the same in six chapters. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* also includes the Gāndharva Vidya in the 18 Vidyās.⁴ Hence it will not be far from truth to think that music and dance were popular from an early period, especially during the classical age in India.

Nārada refers to various musical instruments connected with musical performance and dance recitals, generally in relation to the worship of various deities and the observance of vratas. Further, there are some instruments described as associated with gods like Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu and goddesses like Sarasvatī.

Apart from this, while describing Śikṣā, one of the six Vedāṅgas, Nārada gives theoretical explanation of music, and detailed information regarding the seven svaras, the 14 defective

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1. CHI, I. p.103; RC, pp.234 ff; SAVP, p.34; CHVP, p. 216.
 2. VM, pp. 134 ff; IBJ, p. 249; CHVP, p. 216.
 3. IP, p. 167.
 4. Vā, 61. 78-80; CHVP, p. 96.

forms of singing songs, the five kinds of Śrutis and the musical instrument Vīṇā in particular. He also lays down some rules regarding the study and practice of music.¹ In short, the references and the description contained in this work lead us to conclude that during the period of the *Nārada Purāṇa* the art of music progressed both in its practical and theoretical aspects.

The following is an alphabetical list of musical instruments :

1. Bherī

A kettle-drum. The *Jātakas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* mention it². In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* it is referred to as played upon by the Bhūtas to pay their respects to Śiva. Varāhamihira also refers to it³. According to Nārada, it is played for pleasing the God and used in dancing (at the time of worship)⁴.

2. Ḍamaru

A sort of small drum, shaped like an hour-glass, generally played by the Kāpālikas⁵. Nārada mentions it as associated with Nṛhari and Hanumān⁶.

3. Ḍiṇḍima

A kind of small drum⁷. The Vedic literature does not refer to it. The *Jātakas* and the epics mention this instrument⁸.

According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, it is played upon by the Bhūtas to pay their respects to Śiva, and according to the *Nāradiya Purāṇa*, played for pleasing the God⁹.

4. Dundubhi

A sort of large kettle drum. Its use in both war and peace is referred to in the early Vedic period and in the epic period.¹⁰ The

1. N, I. ch. 50.
2. AD; MD; IC, 4.451; JAOS, 13; CHVP, p. 217.
3. Vā, 40, 24-25; CHVP, p. 98; Brs, 43.59.
4. N, I. 13.146; 73.81.
5. AD.
6. N, I. 71.65; 75.72.
7. AD; MD.
8. IC, 4.451; JAOS, 13; CHVP, p. 217.
9. Vā, 40, 24-25; CHVP, p. 98; N, I. 13.46.
10. AD; RC, p. 234; IC, 4.451; JAOS, 13; CHVP, p. 217; V. Ind, I. p. 368.

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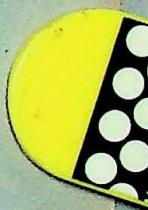
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